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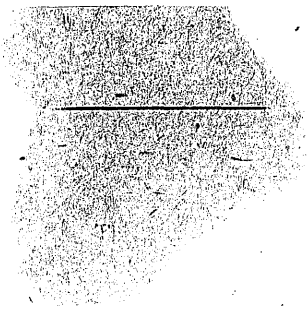

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HONEST LIBERTY IN THE CHURCH

A RECORD OF THE
CHURCH CONGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES
ON ITS FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY
A.D. MCMXXIV

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

The General Chairman
CHARLES LEWIS SLATTERY

New York
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1924

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

By Charles Lewis Slattery, D.D., General Chairman

THIS volume is the symbol of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Church Congress in the United States. The anniversary session was held in Boston on April 29 and 30, May 1 and 2, 1924. Of those who attended the first session in 1874 only two were present in 1924—the Rev. Dr. Stewart Means and the Rev. Dr. Samuel D. McConnell; but there were present other old friends of the Congress who, through many years, have shared its debates.

Chief among these friends was the Rev. Dr. Roland Cotton Smith, who read the history of the fifty years. He not only interpreted to us the contribution of the Congress to the thought of the Church, but he threw light upon the half-century in our whole ecclesiastical and religious life. We were moved by the story of courageous leadership, of open-minded exchange of convictions, and of willingness to learn from opposing arguments. We were confirmed in our belief that the Church Congress has accomplished a genuine good and has an equally important opportunity in the future. Throughout this historical paper the reader will find the subtle play of humour. Charles Dickens himself might envy the description of Mr. Whittaker's bookshop at No. 2, Bible House, especially were he to read the passage in which the grave gentleman in black pulls out the volumes of Longfellow to find Walt Whitman neatly hidden behind them. Incidentally, we have a picture of

the genial bookseller who gave his life for the printing and selling of Church books, and loved his ecclesiastical customers.

This book is arranged in an order different from the order of the Congress. The Round Table Conferences were two series of related subjects, continued from morning to morning: it seems clear that the reader will prefer to have these related subjects together. Further, Bishop Lawrence's paper, which was read by way of welcome on the opening evening, is placed at the end of the volume, as a convenient summary of the aims and purposes of the Congress declared by one who has long been interested in its work.

In the order of the book the Round Table Conferences are Part I and Part II. In these conferences, after the formal papers, members of the audience are at liberty to rise in their places to ask questions or to speak on the subject for a limited time. At other sessions, after the formal papers, members, having sent their cards to the Secretary's table, are called upon in the order in which their cards are received.

It is right that I record a word or two of appreciation for the labour of those who make the Congress possible. An executive committee meets once each winter month in New York to prepare the Programme. Theirs is no perfunctory task; for they weigh and sift the problems before the Church, and then seek diligently for the ablest men to give voice to the diverse convictions which these subjects arouse. Young men of promise, as well as men of assured leadership, are sought; and the Congress has often been the first to reveal important guides of Christian thought. One of the difficulties of the committee has been that men of certain types, exceedingly valuable to the Church, are often unwilling to present their views when they know that they will be instantly challenged by men of opposing views.

Happily this reluctance is yielding more and more; so that the Church Congress is constantly increasing its usefulness as a clearing-house for the varied expression of Christian loyalty within the Church. Men discover how close they stand to one another if they stand close to Christ, saying their most earnest thought, and then listening to His voice through others.

In all the toil of the executive committee the heaviest part is borne by the General Secretary, the Rev. Samuel M. Dorrance. To his courtesy, patience, and sound judgment we all owe a large debt. To his work in a great city parish he adds this labour of love. His letters of appeal and of gratitude are the life of the Congress between the sessions; and at the sessions the strict rules, and the bell beside his watch, keep all the speakers within the appointed bounds. When the reader marvels at the abruptness of the ending of a speech, he will remember that Mr. Dorrance's bell has made that relentless ending.

The local committee, always important, was especially serviceable in this Anniversary Congress. Under the chairmanship of Mr. Sherrill, the Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, the thorough preparations were made for the reception of the Congress. The chairman of the hospitality committee, Dr. Johnson, not only wrote gracious letters to all the guests and made plans for them afterwards, but day by day stood by the door of the hall, to lead in the welcome, even more personally, of all who came. He represented the hospitality of the Diocese of Massachusetts face to face.

An unusual number of the writers were professors in our Divinity Schools, trained and competent scholars. Others were also notable experts in their fields—in medicine, in sociology, in business, in economics, in teaching, in the law, and in the pastoral ministry of the human soul. There was scarcely a single appeal to prejudice, because the men and women who spoke had the deep sense of their responsibility

to speak what they knew; they reverently respected the limits of their knowledge and awaited the sharper light. It was impressive to note the eager attention of the audience when the speaker spoke from his experience; the flagging of interest the moment the speaker dropped to theory merely, or to the suggestion of prejudice; and then the instant return of attention as the speaker came back to tell what evidently he himself had experienced: then every eye was upon him, and his word was with authority.

Therefore, it is not astonishing that we discovered that men who climbed the mountain from different sides met at the top, and frankly spoke their generous appreciation of each other's truth. The Congress contributed to the unity of the Church in the persons of those who spoke out of their minds and hearts. We were all, I believe, more or less changed by what we heard. We all had larger conceptions of what our fellowship, as Christian men who try to think, might mean. We some way came into the fuller presence of Christ. We tried to think His thoughts.

So the conviction was upon us that if the Church would represent Christ, in the world, and to the world, we, as members of the Church, must get Him into our lives. We, speaking for the Church, can plead with power for any truth, so long as we feel that it is truly His message, and we are not so much speaking it as living it. Then the Church (in us) will have the rapt attention of all who are near or far; and all who listen will tend to be convinced of the same truth. But if anything in us which we proclaim to be vital is vital only for a theoretical reason—if it remains only on the surface and has never penetrated; if it is cherished simply because we think the past cherished it; if it rings with a mere outward, formal authority—then the Church (in us) will have not one second of attention from the world to-day. The only way the Church can bring the world to Christ is to have Christ so obviously in the

members, and especially the leaders, of the Church, that those who listen, and those who look, will instinctively feel that Christ Himself has spoken, that Christ Himself is there.

Accordingly, it is not to be wondered at that, time and again, the lines of the secular hall where the Congress met faded away. Men and women spoke earnestly of what most concerned them, and there was wide difference of emphasis. But the eye saw farther. We were at Church, and felt the Presence of Him who binds us all together into one supreme loyalty, into one bold and ardent aspiration to know the whole truth as it is in Him,—concrete, vivid, alive forevermore.

FIFTY YEARS OF THE CHURCH CONGRESS

FIFTY YEARS OF THE CHURCH CONGRESS

By Roland Cotton Smith, D.D.

FASTENED on a rock in Riverdale, fifty years ago a quiet village and now a part of a great roaring city, there is a bronze tablet with this inscription:

> ON THIS SPOT IN THE SUMMER OF 1874 WERE TAKEN THE INITIATORY STEPS TENDING TO THE ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH CONGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES. THIS TABLET IS ERECTED IN MEMORY OF EDWIN HARWOOD, HEMAN DYER, EDWARD WASHBURN, SAMUEL OSGOOD, JOHN COTTON SMITH, C. E. HENRY, PERCY R. PYNE, SAMUEL BABCOCK, CHARLES C. TIFFANY, GEORGE WILDES, J. H. RYLANCE, CORNELIUS SMITH, ALEXANDER H. VINTON, WILLIAM R. HUNTINGTON, WILLIAM H. APPLETON, HENRY K. SPAULDING, AND OTHERS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE MOVEMENT.

Before we go any further, let us make a mental pilgrimage to this spot and with uncovered heads pay deep and grateful tribute to these founders of a free and independent State in the Great Empire of the Mind, dedicated to Liberty and pledged for ever to the Truth.

It was a noble and appropriate setting for the inauguration of such a movement. The Hudson River rolling by, cramped by the limitations of its shores, was soon to meet

the ocean and begin the Great Adventure in the Unknown Seas. And these clergymen and laymen, named on the tablet, who had been lunching with Mr. Percy Pyne to talk over this matter of a congress, feeling instinctively that the four walls of a room was not the place, went out of the house and stood on the high bank of the river, and under the clear heaven exposed to all the winds that blow, they solemnly founded this new enterprise upon the Rock.

Then they bade each other good-bye and went to their several homes. Dr. Wildes, as rector of the church in Riverdale on the Hudson, remained there, and from that time on, as the first Secretary of the Congress, kept his eyes and all his interests ever on that rock.

Some of the Founders returned to New York, a quiet, self-complacent city of the Victorian Age in the United States of America.

The people of every age live on the forces of the former age, and generate forces that are to influence a later one. And it is also true that thoughts and ideas are moulded and coloured by the physical conditions of any given time.

New Yorkers in the Sixties lived in the Age of Steam, between the stagecoach and radium, very close to the stagecoach. The Claremont, with its primitive paddle wheels, had only a short time before steamed up the Hudson past the Rock in Riverdale.

Everything was a long way off. Europe was far removed from America. Ideas travelled slowly. An Effect was as far removed from a Cause as New York from San Francisco. The pioneer spirit, resting on its conquest of a continent, had not yet got to work in the realm of ideas. The mind was self-complacent and satisfied. The classics were the norm and the classics were a long way off. There was no music to speak of except the melodious classics. Wagner was still synonymous with noise. Literary canons were defined and

accepted, and Browning had to have an esoteric group of women to interpret him wrongly.

There was no Art. The few rich people, with a paltry million apiece, had their picture galleries hung with copies, an interminable number of spiritual miles from the masterpiece. And when Raphael's Sistine Madonna was mentioned, the child was expected to have some spiritual reaction to a poor copy of an original unknown and inexperienced. The symbol of beauty was a long way off from reality.

In science the atom was the final word and the molecular formula was accepted as the description of the constitution of matter.

The Protestant Episcopal Church took on the colour of the times, self-complacent and satisfied with the existing order of things.

The final word had been stated as to the constitution of Spirit. Her conception of the Bible, her Prayer Book, her theology and her morality had been brought over from Europe and had become stereotyped: a long way off spiritually from the originals and in great danger of being divorced from reality. The Prayer Book was a closed book; nothing to be taken from it, nothing added. Her attitude toward the non-conformists was that the lion and the lamb were to lie down together when the lamb lay inside the lion.

Her controversies in those times were family affairs and like all family quarrels violent and out of all proportion to their importance. Bishop Horatio Potter in a pastoral letter was admonishing and threatening his clergy for indulging in an occasional extempore prayer. Men were being tried for preaching in non-conformist pulpits. That irritability in small things was a symptom produced by a nervous tension within an exaggerated calm that always precedes a storm. For clouds, no bigger than a man's hand, were beginning to appear from the four corners of the earth and just a whiff of uncertainty was felt in the air. The

truth is that the smugness and hypocrisy of the Victorian Age deplored by the 20th Century, were the result of forces generated in a former period. And the people of the 20th Century are controlled by forces let loose and set in motion by the genius of the giants who ruled the realm of thought in the age of Victoria.

The mighty power of the Evangelical movement was waning, not because it had lost faith in the everlasting Gospel and in the truth that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanses men from all their sins, but because of that little cloud of uncertainty as to whether the form of their presentation of the truth was final. The narrow, satisfied Low Churchman was beginning to feel the chill of the cloud and was growing into the liberty of the Broad Churchman. The High and Dry Churchman was feeling his way into the freedom of the Ritualist.

The men of the different parties went their several ways and had little to do with one another. "I love Dr. X," said a clergyman of a different school of thought, "if I don't see him too often." There were no agencies to bring them together. This was the cause of much misunderstanding and a growing bitterness. Within all these different schools of thought, two types of mind stood out distinctly. One type was like a lighthouse, high and narrow, giving out one clear and true light, pointing out the dangers and revealing the path of the charted channel. The other type were adventurers who knew the light and welcomed it, but sailed on into unknown seas to find new havens and set up there the same one clear light. Both types of mind made their contribution to the thought of the Church. The one held on tenaciously to the revelation of yesterday, the other looked forward eagerly to the revelation of to-morrow.

While the majority in the Church saw the blue sky of the Sixties and said, "It is fair weather," there were prophets in the Church who saw the clouds no bigger than a man's hand

and heard the distant rumbling and were able to read and interpret the signs of the times.

The ecclesiastical home of these men was the Bible House on Fourth Avenue between 8th and 9th Streets. The central purpose of this house was to make the Bible, the word of God, known to men. Under the same roof was the Missionary Society of the Church. Here also was the Evangelical Knowledge Society, and a number of other agencies growing out of the central fact of the Bible. And on the corner under the same roof was No. 2 Bible House, the Church bookstore of Thomas Whittaker who was to be, for many years, the treasurer of the Church Congress. And if we are to understand the genesis of the Church Congress, we must enter No. 2 Bible House on some Monday morning in the late Sixties and spend some hours looking about us.

On one of the walls hangs a picture of Queen Victoria in her coronation robes. Opposite to her a picture of General Grant in a dilapidated uniform, and on the eastern wall hangs the picture of the House of Bishops with numbers over each head and a "key" below giving their names. Those who knew the faces without the key were good Episcopalians; those who used the key were in outer darkness. For it was a part of the religious education of the child to know all the Bishops by name, and they were worth knowing—handsome, substantial men, aristocrats, autocrats—McIllvaine, the Potters, Coxe, and Whipple.

After naming the Bishops correctly, we look over the books: Darwin's *Origin of Species;* Ruskin's *Modern Painters;* Carlyle's *French Revolution; David Copperfield; Vanity Fair;* Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection;* Maurice; Kingsley; Newman's *Apologia;* Emerson; Longfellow. Hidden behind Longfellow, Whitman's *Leaves of Grass.* The British Poets; ten copies of Tennyson; one copy of Browning; copies on sale of the *Church Review; Oliver Optic* and *Susy's Sixth Birthday* for the Sunday School.

And in the centre of the room, unaware of the fate that awaited it of being relegated to a dusty corner, stood proudly the revolving, perfectly proportioned, unifying Globe.

Into this bookstore would walk the Founders, care-free on a blue Monday.

Dr. Washburn picks up Kant and the *Ingoldsby Legends;* Dr. Osgood looks over Dore's *Illustrations of the Bible;* Dr. Cotton Smith reads most of Cudsworth's *Intellectual System of the Universe* and laughs over Mark Twain's *Father Tom and the Pope;* Dr. Harwood buys a copy of *Tertullian,* and the young Dr. Huntington reads *Alice in Wonderland.*

They were the last of the four-square men before Specialism hanged and quartered personality. They were not made in Germany. They were men of ripe culture before Greek roots were eradicated, and were products of the old-fashioned college education. They were Globe men, not Map men.

They were men of the philosophic mind before philosophy was shunted into a corner with the Globe. They dignified thought; reached out for the reason for the faith that was in them, and based their conceptions on fundamental principles.

They were not rationalists in the sense that truth was to be found by reason alone, but they believed that men were rational beings in a rational universe. They were the last of the Classicists. The Classic form to them was still the home of reality. And the truth they perceived was not some empty abstraction born in a closet, but grew out of the mind fastened on the doings of men in a suffering world.

These Founders came from their parish churches where they had preached the day before in a black gown and "bands," with a quartette choir in the gallery. And the Church people who had listened to them on Sunday also came to No. 2 Bible House on Monday—ostensibly to buy books, but really to hear the lions roar. After they had

looked over the books the Founders would pay their respects to Dr. Dyer, the unthroned Bishop of the Church, wise with a shrewd philosophy and endowed with an uncommon common sense. And then by some chance remark they would begin to talk, and then to differ, and then they were off on the Great Debates and the lions began a roar, spontaneous, real, vital. The clash of mind against mind followed, the clash of intense opinion against intense opinion, smoke, then fire. Blow upon blow, as if what God had given each man to see was of infinite importance and as if they thought the fate of the universe was hanging in the balance. The fate of the Church did hang upon the outcome of these spontaneous debates, and if the fate of the Church, then the fate of the family, the State, and the world, and if you will, the universe. The debate might start anywhere, but all roads led at that time to the fact that Bishop Cummins was about to leave the Church because of his views on baptismal regeneration. And the question was whether men who agreed in the main with the Bishop would have to go out of the Church with him. From these debates came this vital conclusion, that men who agreed with Bishop Cummins could still conscientiously stay within the Church which they loved, and those spontaneous, real debates at No. 2 Bible House saved the Church from a great schism.

Then the informal meeting without any motion to adjourn broke up, and as these men, after a hot debate, walked home arm in arm, they answered the question of the prophet Amos: "Can two walk together except they be agreed?" and the answer was—*they can.* And the thoughts of the Church people as they went to their several homes answered the second question of the prophet Amos: "Will lions roar in the forest when they have no prey?" and the answer was —*they will.*

A man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still, but a man unconvinced in an argument is not of the

same opinion still, when he reaches home, for he has, by then, discovered that there was truth on the other side which has already coloured and changed his point of view. And he also has discovered that this antagonist of his was no villain but a man of good conscience, grievously mistaken.

The city bookstore became one with the village grocery store, where by debate constitutions have been framed and preserved, and liberty of thought and freedom of speech established.

By debate nations have been born and prospered. By debate creeds have found their form, and by debate have been preserved. By debate Truth has been discovered, and the revelation of God and His world made known.

The store at the four corners grew into the town meeting, and on the principles of the town meeting the country lives. The old corner bookstore grew into the Church Congress and on the principles of the Congress the Church in America must grow.

The Founders of the Church Congress, great in their unconsciousness of the mighty forces they were setting in motion, acted upon the principles which they knew were true, and like all founders who have formed principles into institutions, they became ever afterwards identified with the glory of the things they saw, and with the power of the institutions which they founded. Personifying the preservation of the Church, they are entitled to and receive our endless gratitude.

If this is to be a chronicle of a more or less pretty and interesting experiment that touched the life of the Church here and there, that has probably had its day and will cease to be, then we had better stop right here and concern ourselves with the weightier matters of the world. But, if this Church Congress established and has kept alive the ideas of liberty and freedom of thought and of speech, principles essential to the very life of the Church, if it has met serious

problems squarely and has thrown a great light upon them, and has carried the Church safely through a terrific crisis in its life; if it has taught the Church that men may disagree in unity and mutual courtesy, then it is worth while for this chronicle to go on with the recital of its deeds.

Out of these informal debates at No. 2 Bible House grew the idea of a more formal gathering to be called "The Club" for the purpose of discussing the questions of the day, and also by lectures and sermons to influence public opinion. This Club was organized on January 9th, 1872 with men as members who for many years formed the backbone of the Congress.

Drs. Washburn, C. T. Henry, H. C. Potter, J. H. Rylance, and Messrs. Sumner, Wildes, Brewer, Arthur Lawrence, and Heber Newton, Dr. Samuel Osgood, Bishop Clark, Drs. Harwood, Muhlenberg, Cotton Smith, Thomas Peters, Phillips Brooks, Charles C. Tiffany, William R. Huntington, John William Payne, C. A. L. Richards, Elisha Mulford, and George Nichols. They read to-day like the sealing of the tribes of Israel.

For this Club, standing for the right of discussion in order to arrive at truth, was an innovation and a rather daring one. The New England members soon formed a club of their own in Boston, and Phillips Brooks became the presiding genius, while Dr. Washburn remained the moving spirit in New York. These two Clubs are the parents of the clubs to be found in every part of the country to-day. Clubs which have quietly and persistently played an important part in emancipating the mind of the Church.

At the first meeting of the Club in 1871 the subject of the Church Congress was taken up, and Dr. Henry Potter was asked to read a paper on the subject. Again in October, 1872, Bishop Whipple addressed the Club on the same subject, and this idea which was smouldering and needed a match was set on fire by the account of the Church Congress

at Bath in England which Dr. Harwood had attended. It precipitated the Congress, as Senator Proctor's speech on his return from Havana precipitated the Spanish War. The times were ready for it, these men were groping after it. What had been done could be done. And so a joint meeting of the New York and Boston clubs with invited guests was appointed to be held in New Haven in April, 1874, to consider the state of the Church and especially "Church Congresses and their Expediency," and we read in Phillips Brooks's diary: "Next week we go to New Haven, all of us broad churchmen, to see what can be done to keep or make the Church liberal and free. There is a curious sort of sensitiveness and expectancy everywhere in the Church. A sort of fear and feeling that things cannot remain for ever just as they are now. One wonders what is coming out of it all. Certainly some sort of broad Church. A meeting such as this I speak of could not have been possible ten years ago. Then, the men could not have been found to go; now, men are asking to be invited."

So the members of the two clubs, and the guests who were asking to be invited, journeyed to New Haven on May 19th, 1874, and decided that the Protestant Episcopal Church in America ought to have a Church Congress. And that brings us round again to the meeting in Riverdale on the following June 16th, where the Founders walked out into the open air and solemnly founded the Congress on a rock. It was decided to hold the first meeting in New York immediately before the opening of the General Convention in October.

It is one thing to found an institution and to plan for its first meeting and another thing to put those plans into operation.

This project for a Church Congress met with violent opposition from the hierarchy and from amazed and pained Churchmen and women who followed in their train. It

would "destroy the peace of the Church." It was started by Broad Church heretics who wanted a "third house" to control legislation. When it was pointed out that all schools of opinion were to be represented and have fair play, Bishop Coxe retorted that the fair play would be like the play at Baden Baden, where the advantage is always to the house, to the bankers who get it up.

Horatio Potter, as Bishop of the Diocese, was asked to preside, and in a long letter to the committee he declined the invitation on the ground that it was, to say nothing more, extremely bad taste to hold a congress just before the Convention where excited and declamatory spirits of the Congress would disturb the calmness and tranquillity of the Convention. And furthermore what Church people needed most was not talk but work. And to these broad Churchmen who had conceived this extravagantly improbable project, he would say that while they grieved and distressed him, he still loved them.

This letter was answered by Dr. Washburn, disclaiming any intention of affecting legislation and making an appeal for liberty in the Church. So to the main issue was added the question of loyalty to the Bishop, and many good and conscientious people looked at the Congress as a sort of two-wheeled velocipede then in vogue, which had a wheel in front that was too broad and to those who mounted it there was much danger in any forward movement.

But there were enough men in the Church with faith and courage who were eager to get into the saddle and start the forward movement.

Before we go on, certain facts must be stated in justice to the Congress and certain persistent misconceptions downed. The present historian is in a position to do this because he has done, to his profit, what no other man has ever done: he has read all the journals of the Congress for the fifty years and knows whereof he speaks. And if any man would

contradict him, he must first read the journals of the Congress for the fifty years, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace.

At the fourth Congress held again in New York, Bishop Horatio Potter presided. At the Congress in Buffalo, Bishop Coxe presided. At all the Congresses the Bishop of the Diocese has presided with the exception of the first Congress in Washington, when Senator Edmunds took the chair. And these Bishops in their addresses have gracefully and unreservedly welcomed the principles on which the Congress was founded and on which it stands. The Congress has received the Episcopal benediction.

The Church Congress was founded by Broad Churchmen. Broad—not in the party sense of manipulating the Congress so that their particular views might prevail, but in the large sense of comprehensiveness and believing that there were many different kinds of voices in the Church and not one of them without signification. The one dominating idea has been to have every school of thought, every shade of opinion represented in the debates. If at any time they have not been so represented it is not because the leaders in that particular thought have not been invited, but because they have for some reason declined the invitation. But those instances have been few and far between. Looking over the fifty years, the High Churchmen have been represented by their most conspicuous names, and have made a substantial and enduring contribution to the thought of the times. The Ritualists, especially in the early days, eager for a hearing, welcomed the Congress and set forth their challenging thought with a burning eloquence. The Church Congress never intended and has never tried to influence legislation in the lobbying sense of the term. But in the face of much discouragement in State and Church, it has held fast to the idea that thinking ought to have some connection with legislation in the Church and in the State.

With these misconceptions given decent burial, let us hear a more welcome music as we march back to our Founders. Here were men who in a complacent age felt the stirring of something new, who believed in thought growing out of life, who believed that life and truth are larger than any one man's conception of them or any body of men, who believed that truth is born out of the clash of differing opinions—men who, in spite of opposition, intended to establish those ideas and principles in an institution within the Church they loved—men who lived in an intellectual Bible House, all their ideas and conceptions centring around the Bible.

Just at this time the clouds that in the Sixties were no bigger than a man's hand rolled up from every direction, heavy, dark, and threatening. There was the mighty scientific thought sweeping up from across the ocean, seeming to obliterate the sun. At the same time thunders and lightnings boomed and cracked that for an instant revealed interminable worlds and an overpowering universe, that tore down the superstructure and threatened the very foundations of a tiny world of little men.

There were the clouds rising from the earth out of a mighty materialistic and secular Age. A nation of men who for an hundred years had toiled for a living, struck oil, made steel, tunnelled mountains, spanned rivers, and became rich beyond the dreams of avarice. The black and all-sufficing thought of things hid and seemed to deny the thought of the Spirit and its activities in another and an enveloping realm.

Rolling up in antagonism were the portentous clouds of an industrial revolution. Ideas, big with unguessed meanings, rumbled in the intellectual air. Blowing up through two centuries and gathering force as they came were the ruthless and devastating winds of criticism knowing no distinctions between the sacred and profane. And, pitying neither wise men nor fools, they swept across all books, all

history, all knowledge, and searched through all things. These winds played and sported with the clouds in an elemental way, thwarting them, bringing them together, separating them, making ideas that ought to live together antagonistic, bringing chaos out of order and confusion of thought.

At the same time up from the East, contributing to the complications, blew persistently the winds of the Spirit, and no one could tell whence they came or whither they were blowing or what part they were playing in the devastating storm.

Such was the storm that broke in fury over the Bible House, and the history of the Church Congress is a history of men in a Bible House thinking aloud in an intellectual thunderstorm.

If you have no conception of the gravity of the storm, you have no idea of the importance of the Congress; if you say that there was no storm, you rule yourself out of the world of thought, and you may go on playing with the cattle in the fields. If you choose to say that the Church ought to have sat and defied the lightning, then you are, with Ajax, a fool. But if you can see that the way to live in an intellectual thunderstorm is not to deny it or defy it, is not to stop one's ears with the soft absorbent cotton of credulity and hide in some safe cellar, but to face the storm calmly and seriously, study the currents, harness the lightning, and make it give light and power to the world, salvaging out of the debris of shattered forms the indestructible and eternal Spirit, then you are one with the Founders and the goodly company of seeing men who have kept the Congress alive, and you have a right to enter with reverence through the door to the First Meeting.

October 6th, 1874, was appointed for the first meeting of the Church Congress and at half past ten in the morning the Believers in the movement and a company of the Curious

made their way to Calvary Church to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Bishop Whipple of Minnesota gave the address and with simplicity drew the minds of the Congress in "these troublous times" to the thought of Jesus Christ their Saviour.

So far all was well. The excitements and perplexities were reserved for this strange and daring meeting that was to be held in the Hall of the Young Men's Christian Association at half-past two o'clock in the afternoon.

The men behind the Congress were there early, feeling themselves, as Bishop Dudley afterwards expressed it, a band of conspirators. Would anyone come? What was going to happen? Why, everyone was coming and the seats were filling up, the Believers, the Curious, and the Scoffers in the back seats. Scattered through the audience were the Delegates to the General Convention, steeled against any base attempt to influence their legislation. Dr. Wildes, one of those perfect secretaries who are born and not made, brought his well-laid plans from his rock in Riverdale and established them on the platform. There was the curious little bell, potentially as big to the speakers as the Day of Judgment that was to be one with the solar system, that was to make thought stand still and wreck sentences. Here it was resting quietly on the table. There was the circle of empty chairs and the Church people wondering who would dare to sit in them. Presently Thomas Whittaker, the Treasurer, so dares and makes the visible connection between No. 2 Bible House and the platform of the Church Congress. And the chairs before they know it are filled by four venturesome Bishops, Clarke of Rhode Island who loved to dare, Hare of Niobrara, who dared to love, the splendid Dudley, and Whipple with his black skull cap and his accusing finger. These were the sponsors at the baptism. It is not recorded how many of the Vice Presidents attended, but these men had a right to sit in the chairs to give dignity

to the occasion. Chief Justice Waite, Governor Stevenson of Kentucky, Robert C. Wind, Percy Pyne, Abram Hewitt, Alexander Rice, George Shattuck, and Daniel Hagar.

After the collects and the singing of the hymn, "Behold the Glories of the Lamb amid his Father's throne," Alexander H. Vinton, the Chairman of the meeting, delivered his inaugural address. It was not a challenge, it was in no way apologetic, it was almost a wistful wonderment why people could not see the value of this great experiment—Can't you see, O you people, that the only way to reach the truth is to get together?

After that the debates began. It is significant that the first word of the first topic of the Congress should have been *Limitation:* "The Limits of Legislation in regard to Doctrine and Ritual."

A careful study of topics (and it is a most interesting one) will show that the men who chose them through the fifty years, acted in no arbitrary or haphazard way, but were governed not only by the immediate issues that at any given time occupied the mind of the Church, but also often unconsciously by the forces at work in the cosmic thunderstorm. They were living instruments, sensitive to the currents in the intellectual air, registering the conditions and progress of the storm. "The Limitations" had of course an immediate reference to the preaching of the Low Churchmen and the practice of the Ritualists, but behind all that there was back in the mind of these men, perhaps unconsciously, the deeper question: As we set in motion this mighty machine for thought in the face of new and unknown forces, what are to be the limitations of our thinking? Are we to confine ourselves to putting our little or big house in order and save what we can out of the wreck, or are we to face all these questions, explore the clouds, and investigate the very heavens behind them? Is life in compartments or

one great whole? Is not the passing question related to and a part of an Eternal one?

The first speaker of the Church Congress was John Cotton Smith, who set the wheels in motion by enunciating the principle of *Comprehensiveness,* a comprehensive Church in the sense that it has room for all the divergent schools of thought and also willing and able to comprehend all thought within or without her walls.

The second speaker was Hugh Miller Thompson, a high Churchman and a worthy antagonist. "Comprehensiveness is all very well and a true principle, but certainly there are and ought to be well-defined limits to what men can think within the Church. Faith is complete in itself, not in the process of being perfected. Verities of the Catholic faith are set out in the Catholic creeds. If ritual teaches erroneous doctrines it should be put down ruthlessly; no patience with that kind of liberality."

"Yes," said the third speaker, Dr. Andrews, "and trials."

And so the debate that was to go on through the years was started. The word *Limitation* occurs in three other topics: Mutual Limitation of Religious and Scientific Inquiry; Limitation of Industrial Discussion; Limits of Creed Interpretation. But it was soon found that the smaller problem cannot be answered until the larger one is solved. There are no limitations in a thunderstorm.

The next topic was the Relation of the Episcopal Church to other Christian bodies. Washburn said, "In the structure of the English Church there is the basis of the most *Comprehensive* Unity." Then followed a paper read by Rev. Dr. Williams of Cornell on Mutual Christian Obligations of Capital and Labour. And after the singing of the hymn "Awake and Sing the Song of Moses and the Lamb," the First Church Congress came to an end.

At this point the Historian sees in the faces of the au-

dience a look of incredulous wonder. The time of the Historian is unlimited. Is it possible we are to sit through a recital of all the speeches of all the speakers in the Church Congress for the fifty years? No, it is not possible. But the Historian is convinced that it would be the best thing for the Church if it could be done, to solve present-day problems and quiet present-day nerves and hysteria.

For the history of the Church Congress is a great object lesson, a demonstration of how a Church, if it is allowed to think, can come through perilous problems to a satisfactory solution.

Let us then take a bird's-eye view of the thought of these fifty years; catch just a glimpse of the thinkers as they pass on and off the platform, and grasp before we close something of the meaning of it all.

In order to take this rapid survey, it is necessary to make some broad generalisations and to point out for our guidance what we may expect to find. We will find that the first twenty-five years was a period of breaking down, tearing to pieces, destructive criticism, analysis. It was a telescopic age where distances and processes were indefinitely extended and where the world and man were atoms in an universe. The second twenty-five years was a period of building up, putting the scattered pieces together, constructive criticism, synthesis. It was a microscopic age where the atom was not lost in the universe but an universe was discovered in the atom. We will find a steady development of thought; not haphazard, but moving on from year to year with the progress of the storm. We will find that certain vital, burning questions are satisfactorily settled by the mind of the Church and are left behind; that certain other ideas appear apologetically, then tentatively, and gradually enter in the general thought, while other ideas are continuously clashing, permanently opposed, but by means of the continual clashing, modified and adjusted until they find their proper

place and make their valuable contribution to the common thought.

We shall find that in an intellectual thunderstorm all the parts of the structure stand or fall together. You have to face the whole of it. The rooms of the different ideas are connected and all the currents and forces of the storm must be taken into account before you can understand any one of them.

We shall find, generally speaking, that the thought of the English Church Congress is about fifteen or twenty years ahead of our Church Congress and that the results of the thinking of our Congress are twenty-five years ahead of the thought of the general public. And a careful study of the Church Congress Reports would enable a man to predict the time when any set of ideas would occupy the mind of the people, and he would also be able to prophesy what the main conclusion would be. With these generalisations in mind to guide us, we are prepared to take our rapid survey of the forces that produced the thunderstorm.

In 1857 Darwin published his *Origin of Species* and set forth his theory of Evolution. Fathered and brothered by such intellectual giants as Darwin and Huxley, Tyndall and Herbert Spencer, it broke upon the minds of the age with an overpowering authority. The word *Evolution* took some time to cross the Atlantic, because it came freighted with all the ideas growing out of the imposed scientific thought of the times. It brought with it Agnosticism and Positivism and everything related to them. When the word reached these shores with its heterogeneous freight, few knew anything about it. Those who talked most about it never read the book. It became synonymous with, and was used instead of, development, from the evolution of protoplasm to the evolution of a shoestring. It meant somehow that men descended from monkeys, which was a great joke, and that everything was developing from better to better, which was

very fine and reassuring. To the great mass of the people there was no storm. They did not see the implications. The storm is breaking now over the average man to-day for he is just beginning to see that his whole system of thought is threatened. Bryan is only doing to-day here what Gladstone did forty years ago abroad.

But to the thinkers in the intellectual and spiritual Bible House the word *Evolution* with all its ramifications of ideas was portentous and terrifying. First, the fear that comes from uncertainty, of not knowing what is going to happen. Science was magnificent and arrogant. To-morrow with a few rags we shall have spontaneous generation, and away with the Spirit, and even if there be a Spirit, you cannot know it. This first fear can be felt through all the first Congresses, making Bishop Paddock humorously remark at the third meeting in Boston that "there probably would not be another one, for according to the speakers the Church could not last another year." That is whistling to keep one's courage up.

This first fear gave place to an attempt to come to an understanding of it. At first the would-be intellectuals accepted the theory; the pious rejected it. But very soon the Church borrowed the phrases and talked and preached about "Environment" and "Survival of the Fittest" and "Natural Selection" and tried to take these natural laws into the spiritual world. It was all superficial and tentative and an avoidance of the real issue. The Church could not, then, fall back upon the impregnable rock of Scripture, for the winds of criticism were beginning to tear it to pieces; it could not fall back upon the authority of the creeds, for the creeds and the Bible were under the same roof. The real issue was not the question whether or not Evolution was true—that was a purely scientific question for scientists to decide. The theory might be in many respects wrong, it might have to be modified, but it unquestionably opened

up a marvellous and entrancing universe in space and illimitable processes in time. It established a reign of law in a unified world.

The real vital question was: How has the truth in evolution affected religion and the Christian Church? What has it done to the Bible House? And on examination it was found that it had destroyed much of the superstructure and that many conceptions had fallen down. But it was also discovered that these conceptions had nothing to do with real religion. And the minds of the Church were driven down to the foundations, the nature and the laws of the spiritual world. The Church was not concerned with taking natural laws into the spiritual world, her function was to take spiritual laws into the natural world. She was indifferent to the question of whether man's body developed from an ape; she was supremely concerned with the affirmation that man's spirit had come from the God who is an Eternal Spirit.

The breaking up of old conceptions and the driving of the Church to its spiritual foundations is the never-to-be-forgotten service of the scientific giants of the Victorian Age.

These ideas ran through all the thought of the early years and found definite expression in three of the greatest meetings of the Congress, the 9th at Detroit where Drs. Tiffany, Greer, and Currie discussed Agnosticism; the 14th at Washington where Drs. Harwood and McConnell and Senator Edmunds wrestled with Evolution and Theism, and the 16th Congress at Boston that started in Horticultural Hall and overflowed into the old Music Hall and where Bishop Sessums and Professor Woodbridge in a great discussion on the "Argument from Design as affected by the Theory of Evolution" showed that Evolution, instead of doing way with a Designer, glorified Him, and the great audience stood up and cheered. And so far as the Congress is concerned, Evolution was accepted, and it is significant that after this 16th

Congress the subject has never been even hinted at. It had taken its place in the thought of the Church and was set aside.

In the Sixties, the overwhelming majority of people believed in the verbal inspiration of the Bible. It was a perfect book written by the hand of God, not to be touched in any way by profane or by sacred hands. They searched the Scriptures and in them they thought they had Eternal life. Then the winds of criticism gathering force in Europe, blew over the Atlantic and swept across the Bible here. They co-operated with the winds of history and searched through all peoples and all religion. They sported with the scientific clouds and drew out of them the ideas of Unity and Continuity of life where all history is a revelation. They tore to pieces a chronology on the margin of the Bible, a chronology which was supposed to be a religious mistake, but which was really a scientific inaccuracy. They exposed discrepancies and forced back a part of history into a dim and unknown past. They blew the crowns from the heads of heroes and cut the very flesh and blood from the bones, leaving the Bible a skeleton.

Now, the first twenty-five years of the Congress is a history of thinking men living within certain conceptions of the Bible exposed to the winds of destructive criticism. At first the winds blew softly. The new version was about to appear. In the Second Congress we have Bible Revision, and in the 7th the Revision of the New Testament. The question was whether the Church ought to have even a new version. "It will destroy the faith in the Bible that our mothers taught us," wailed Bishop Coxe. "I wish that the good Bishop would leave our mothers out of it," said Vaughn Lewis. "Let us have the truth," cried Phillips Brooks. Revision was accepted, and Revision is the father of criticism. And the winds began to gather force, until we come to Positive Gains in Biblical criticism, in the

13th Congress, where Henry Nash, a fearless critic and a spiritual genius, said, "The bird is shy of the nest where boys have been scouting, and men can find no rest for their souls where criticism has thrust its fearless hand." And Nash, with others of his kind, led the thinking men of the Church down to the spiritual foundation where the scientific giants had driven them. And down there among the spiritual foundations we first begin to hear the sound of the builders as they talk in the 26th Congress of the "Constructive Value of the Higher Criticism."

And down amid the spiritual foundations we will leave them for a time, for the thinkers in the intellectual Bible House had also to face the dark cloud of Secularism. All the clouds acted and reacted upon one another, and the cloud of Secularism took on the peculiar blackness of the scientific cloud. Matter and spirit are close together, undistinguishable. They may be one. What is material? What is spiritual? What is sacred? What is profane? Everything is profane. Everything is sacred. It was the Puritan suddenly finding a million dollars in his pocket, trying to adjust his thinking to a new, opulent, and diversified world.

The young, broad-church clergyman put on a green necktie to show the world that the world was his. The young high-churchman added a quarter of an inch to his clerical collar to protest against the Protestant.

And they came up to the Congress, with or without neckties, to debate the question. And these are the topics in their order: Secular and Religious Education; Popular Amusements; the Novel; the Sunday Question; Sunday newspapers; Material Prosperity in Relation to Morality; War; the Church and the Drama; Genius and Orthodoxy. These questions playing upon the surface deepened down to the fundamental conception of the Relation of the Church to the family and the State, the three divine institutions.

It is to be noted that the Congress started just after the

Vatican Council in 1870 and just before the Centennial Exposition in 1876. It stood between ideas of the authority of the Church and the ideas growing out of a hundred years in a free State.

It is significant that in the Second Congress in Philadelphia, within the sound of the hammer of the Exposition, the first topic should be "Ultramontanism and Civil Authority." Dr. Wharton showed the evil effects of Ultramontanism upon the family and the State. There was no difference of opinion, causing one man to cry out, "Is there not some one to say a good word for the Pope?"

The idea of the three divine institutions opened wide the whole question of the relation between them and the obligations of the Church; the Morals of Politics; the Relation of the Church to National Life; Civil Service Reform; the Tariff; Race Questions; Trusts; Clergy and Politics; Marriage and Divorce; The Referendum; Problem of Child Protection; Place of Organized Religion in Modern Life; Duties of Church in Secular Activities; Churches as a Factor in Human Progress.

Out of this gradual broadening of the idea of the Church in relation to the World, and her responsibilities, grew the great idea of Service, which gave birth to the Institutional Church, and we have the topic, "New and Old Parochial Methods" in the 14th Congress, causing one man to cry out: "Oysters, Oysters, Oysters, Pink Teas, Apron Socials, Bumble Bee Breakfasts." This Institutional Church sent up to the Congress a body of young men, led by Dr. Rainsford, who had little time for Philosophy, but had all the time there was, night and day, to give to the service of their fellowmen. "If ye do my will, ye shall know of my doctrine." It injected the blood of suffering humanity into the thought of the Church, established the Social Conscience and drew an economically conservative Church into the discussion of the whole industrial question. We find a gradual growth of the

sense of responsibility, an uneasy conscience that knew not what to do, making for a time a heretic of the man who was unorthodox, not in theological but in social questions.

At the First Congress, "Mutual Obligations of Capital and Labour" contained the idea of the catechism—that each must be content with that state of life in which it had pleased God to call him. First: "Capital and Labour"; then in the 5th, "Labour and Capital"; then a fine debate between Henry George and Dr. Kirkus on "Is civilisation just to working men?"; then "Socialism," in the 14th. Dr. Bliss started his Church of the Carpenter; Dr. Huntington—the Church Association for the Interests of Labour; Dr. Holland—The Christian Social Union; and Sprague, Grant, and Melish kept the pot aboiling. Then came the topics: "The Alleged Failure of the Church to meet Social Emergency"; "Christianity in International Relations."

All this development in thought grew out of the idea of the relation between the Secular and Religious. It was necessary and magnificent; but the storm was not over. You talk of the three Divine Institutions—but what and where is Divine? If you do God's will, you will know of His doctrine. But what is his Will and Who is God? The Bible will tell you. Yes, but the conceptions of the Bible have fallen down and are half-buried in the spiritual foundations. The Church will tell you. Yes, but what is the Church?

In the Sixties the Protestant Episcopal Church in America that thought it knew what the Church was, and was quite satisfied with its conception, was startled out of its complacency by a number of Tracts that had been coming for some years from the Oxford Movement in England. Men were reading Newman's *Apologia* and Keble's *Poems;* Maurice; Kingsley; Coleridge; Stanley's *Institutions,* and were preparing on one side or the other for the battle that was sure to come. But the movement itself came as a stim-

ulating challenge, with an indistinct and lovely spiritual note. It was a captivating, romantic revival, keeping step with Walter Scott's interpretation of history. It brought to the Puritan Episcopal Church lights and flowers, music and dreams. It captured almost all the great Ecclesiastical words. But it also put into these lights and words a definite and consistent conception of the Church. It made an irresistible appeal to some of the intellectual Saints, led by the dauntless De Koven, Coit, Vaughn, Lewis, John Henry Hopkins, Dr. Huntington, Hall, Reynolds, Dr. Ewer, Lewis Parks, Osborne, Van Allen, and Morehouse, followed by a host of splendid men. It also marshalled in opposition, not to the lights and the words, but to their content, a superb company of antagonists, led at first by Washburn, then by Brooks, and supported all along the line by the younger men who were to become the Generals: Leighton Parks always on the front line; the fearless Donald; the intrepid and brilliant McConnell; Grant, Hodges, Guthrie, Grammer, Schwab, Tomkins, Johnston, and Suter.

The battle really began in the 3rd Congress in Boston, when De Koven and Washburn on "Reason and Authority" clashed. De Koven: "There is a divine and infallible voice of the Holy Catholic Church, and He has spoken in the Creeds and Undisputed General Councils." Washburn: "The authority the Church claims is that of a reverent, reasonable, but infallible interpreter of the Word of God." Then the New Testament Doctrine of Absolution.

Then the great Debate in the 9th, at Detroit, when Phillips Brooks met Bishop Lay on "Authority and Conscience." Then the *Confessional; Apostolic Succession; Use and Abuse of Ritual; What is Catholicity?* Anyone who reads these debates will find not a surrender on either side but a gradual acceptance of the truth that both sides are trying to enforce, in a Church that has room for both of them.

The Debate moved on inevitably to the Creeds, and the

forces found themselves entrenched on the subject of the 24th Congress in Philadelphia, with the ruins of the Exposition close at hand, Liberty and Limits of Creed Interpretation. Then Frederic Palmer, who said everything then that is being said to-day, threw the Creeds back on the Bible and led the Church to where the old conceptions of the Bible lay—among the spiritual foundations.

That is the end—broadly speaking—of the 25 years of analysis and destructive criticism, and a new era of reconstruction and synthesis dawns.

It was not haphazard—it was inevitable, that just at this time we find this significant and illuminating topic: "Analysis and Synthesis in Religion." The mind of the Church was turned to the rebuilding of the superstructure upon the spiritual foundations. For the winds of the creative spirit that had been blowing all the time asserted themselves and prevailed, and we have a new set of ideas and an entire change of atmosphere.

The period of rebuilding holds no dramatic quality like the crashing down of the walls upon men's heads. It requires infinite patience and hard toil in the careful co-ordination of all the parts. You have to construct the whole building before you occupy any of the rooms. And the large audiences dwindled, and the popular enthusiasm waned. But the thinkers in the Congress became the builders. Philosophy that had been thrust aside put on her robes again and sat beside Theology, the re-enthroned king, with Browning as his Poet Laureate. And they went together down to the foundations and struck reality and built the spirit into things.

These are the topics: The Grounds of Certitude in Philosophy and Religion; What is Personality; The Place of Imagination and Poetry in Religion; The Evidential Value of Christian Experience; The Miraculous Element in Christianity; The Idea of God; The Constructive Value of the

Higher Criticism; and Formative Influence of Democracy on the Christian Church.

The word *Evolution* gave place to the word *Psychology,* and the Psychological Moment meant to the mass of the people as little as the Evolution of a shoestring, but to the thinkers it was a real attempt to search the Foundations. It opened up vistas, but just beyond it or beneath it was the Spirit, half buried beneath the fallen forms. It showed itself in the New Thought which was the old thought, in the many forms of Mysticism, in Spiritual healing led by Drs. Worcester and McComb, in the Spiritualism that like Rodin's statue could not yet free itself from the entangling material. But big with prophetic meaning and power, all these are evidence of the mind of the Church fastening upon the creative Spirit at work. And the fifty years of the Church Congress brings the thought of the Church, not to the end—there is never an end—but to a great assurance and an eager expectation, for as far as this special thunderstorm is concerned, it is over. The bow is in the clouds and spans the heavens. The plans are drawn, the materials are at hand, and the sound of the hammer is heard in the land, for the builders are already building a conception of the Bible that transcends anything that has ever been conceived, filling creation and prophecy and revelation with a rediscovered universal Spirit, and out of that, a magnificent idea of authoritative creeds, a militant and triumphant Church, built to music and therefore never built and therefore built for ever.

In the play of the "Miracle" there is no curtain. The stage is everywhere and everyone participates. The man in the back row may the next moment appear at the high altar. There is a constant and almost imperceptible change of scene; some bit of country merges into a city, and the city in turn melts into the country side, and all the time this pro-

cession of men and women concerned with, and bound together, by the Miracle.

In the same way, the Church Congress, this Drama of Thought, has no curtain. The whole fifty years is the stage and all the people are participants. New York merges into Norfolk and Norfolk into Buffalo, and Buffalo melts into Pittsfield and all the time the drama is going on, and the great procession of thinkers moves in and out. They live and speak and die and fall out of the procession that still moves on. Here is the figure of Dr. Tyng, the Great Evangelical, who comes in for a moment and cries out "I seem to appear among you as one who has been buried. Free Preaching? Why, it is like asking at the Centennial whether this country should be independent. The Church is an hundred years behind the times." Here is a company of Bishops besides those already mentioned who were a part of the procession, Doane, Potter, Littlejohn, McVicar, Boyd Vincent.

There is a body of laymen and laywomen who marched with the Bishops in this miracle of thought: Samuel Eliot, Fulton Cutting, Thomas Nelson Page, Seth Low, Hamilton Mabie, Montgomery Blair, Joseph Packard, Lynde Stetson, Morehouse, Rathbone Gardner, Everett Wheeler, Vida Scudder, Mrs. James Laidlaw, President Agnes Irwin, Mrs. Trowbridge.

Here are a company of distinguished visitors, the Lord Bishops of Fredericton and Niagara, Canons Farrar, McCoudry, and Henson, Dr. Momerie, Lord Brabagon, and Lady Astor. There are the men already named who fought the great ecclesiastical battle. There are two men who interpreted the purpose and the meaning of the Congress to itself: Bishop Dudley, one with the whole big sweep of the movement, crying out, "Its purpose is serious as life and death," and Bishop Lawrence setting forth the underlying principles and spirit of the Congress and taking that spirit

into the fifty years of his own consecrated and prolific ministry.

There are two men, Vaughn Lewis and John Henry Hopkins, who stood for the right and indispensable equality of wit and humour to keep the Congress sane, the wit that wins and does not wound, and the humour that illuminates and leaves no sting.

There are Henry and Harris and Holland and Stewart Means and Leighton who in the midst of the storm flew their kites into the clouds and discovering the electricity, became the clouds' interpreters. There are Dubose and Peters, Fosbrooke, Foley, Hall, Batten, who with their delicate instruments became interpreters of the winds of the Spirit, and here is Phillips Brooks to whom the Congress was as breath to his nostrils, riding the storm in his chariot of fire, the interpreter of the winds of the spirit.

In the play of the "Miracle" you are not only a part of the process, you are permitted to go behind the scenes and see the men working the machinery.

This drama of thought within the Church Congress could not go on for a single year, were it not for the fact that there is always an untiring chairman with his Executive Committee, living barometers of thought, ever on the alert to register and report and direct an indefatigable secretary. Let us go for a moment behind the scenes and get just a glimpse of these men. There are the Chairmen, Drs. Tiffany and Babcock, with the Secretaries, Drs. Kramer, Harris, Carstensen, and Browne, who did not merely sit in a chair on the platform or ring a bell for three days, but worked all the year to start the machinery again and keep it going. All honour to these men and our endless gratitude. It is impossible to name the Executive Committees, the nerves of the Church Congress. There is one man, however, who personifies them all, Dr. Nichols, acting on the Programme Committee, playing his conspicuous part in formal debate,

volunteering when interest might lag, and then going home to work for the next Congress; to read the signs of the times; to help select speakers and to serve on any committee where he might be of any help, to go to sleep in the evening with the Congress on his heart and to wake up in the morning with the Congress on his mind. That was the spirit that animated a group of men in the last undramatic days of the reconstruction: Austin Smith and Delaney, Fosbrooke, Robbins, Malcolm Douglas, Sturgis, Owen, and Vandewater, men who, in spite of discouragements and lack of interest and now and then a jeer, never lost faith in her, kept the torch burning, until at Rochester and Baltimore the Congress was re-established and brought back to her high estate to do the work awaiting her in the fifty years to come.

For Providence had turned her averted face and given the Congress an indomitable chairman and leader, Dr. and now Bishop Slattery. And then she smiles again and gives us Dorrance. These are the thinkers and the builders of the Church Congress. Not fencers playing with a pretty art nor gladiators thirsting for the others' blood, but interpreters together of a Revelation. Each man boldly speaking what he sees; each man eager for the other's thought, bound by the law of ancient courtesy, knowing no victory but the truth.

This is the Church Congress, the greatest institution within the Church, far greater than is realised by the most ardent supporters, inevitable, indispensable, royal. She discovers the thinker and sets him in the high place. She broadens communities and cements friendships; she teaches the Church to think; establishes liberty; discourages trials; carries the Church through great crises; and saves her from the sin of schism in loyalty and in love. Her death would be the Church's death, for the Church has still stern work to do in the Day of the Lord at hand, for the storm did not centre over the Bible House alone. It swept over all the depart-

ments of life, over painting and music and literature, over the humanities and moralities. It thundered against a self-complacent, satisfied world and broke in pieces forms and conventions and standards, the true as well as the false, the good as well as the bad ones. All fell together. It is called an Age of Revolt and the younger generation think that they did it. They did not do it; the storm did it. It came not from below, but from above, and the younger generation are but orphans without shelter in a storm. The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars of convention; the voice of the Lord causeth conceptions to bring forth prematurely; the voice of the Lord revealeth mysteries.

Men talk as if the World War shattered the world. The storm came before the war, and the war was one terrible dramatic moment, when the winds from the four corners of the earth blew the clouds together and engendered the lightning, driving the people of the world, if they went anywhere at all, down to the foundations, recognizing a whiff of the Spirit here and there, and fashioning it into grotesque and abortive shapes, calling out desperately to the Church to show them the Spirit that can brood over all chaos, and create the perfect form. And the Church is just barely awakening to her opportunities and responsibilities. Compared to the mighty conception of the Spiritual work that she might have and ought to have, it can almost be said that the Church does not so much as know whether there be any Holy Ghost. She has confined the Spirit in a doctrine of the Third Person of the Trinity where it belongs, but it must be emancipated and allowed to take possession of the Spiritual world, identify itself with these unrelated energies, coordinate them, marshall them into one irresistible power, the Spirit and Master of the vast machinery, and then return to the doctrine with freedom and with power.

Fifty years ago the scientists said that the molecular theory was the final word on the Constitution of Matter and then

with an open mind and infinite patience and consecrated toil they revealed a universe in the atom that outreaches man's wildest imagination.

Here is a great Spiritual world with forces and power that are yet unknown. And the Church, with an open mind and infinite patience and consecrated toil, must spend the next fifty years in her Spiritual laboratories. She must first of all enthrone faith, as her sublimest faculty whereby she can attain knowledge, and stop singing hymns of a heaven where faith is lost in light, and sing of a heaven here or hereafter where sight is transfigured into faith, a faith which discovers the wonders and the glories and the powers of the spiritual world and finds that wonder and glory and power in the historic Christ.

Then the wise men bring their cherished possessions as gifts to Him, the old Evangelical comes bearing the truth of the Atonement, the blood of the Lamb that has washed the sins of the world away, the Broad Churchman comes with his individual conscience and his love of liberty, and the High Churchman bearing the idea of Apostolic Succession and the Real Presence in the Sacraments. And these gifts are touched by the hand of the historical, spiritual Christ and become filled with the reality of the meaning, no longer copies, endless copies, but they their great Original proclaim, and the Seminaries teach it and the preachers preach it, the vital possession of a living Church. "Where order in variety we see, and where, though all men differ, all agree."

On the Thursday in Holy Week, the Historian made a pilgrimage to the old Bible House and entered the bookstore that is still there at No. 2. And touching the bookcases with reverent hand, he asked the bookseller, "How are things getting on?" "Oh," said he, "the building is pretty old and may have to be pulled down." Then the Historian went to an upper room, where the Bible is, and he asked,

"How are things getting on?" "Oh," said the man, "we have never sold so many Bibles, 7,000,000, and if the building falls down, we will build a new and finer Bible House with better light in it."

And the Historian saw in spirit the Founders as they came in and went out of the door.

And he saw one of the Founders, a man given to Unity and a lover of Liberty, with the cup of the wine of the Lord in his hand.

And I heard a voice saying unto me: Write, from henceforth, a comprehensive Church, speaking the truth in love, will be able to comprehend, with all Saints, what is the breadth and length and depth and height.

"And to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, and the peace of God which passeth man's understanding."

PART I

THE PERSON OF CHRIST IN THE THOUGHT OF TO-DAY

§ 1

WHAT DO THE GOSPELS TEACH US?

THE PERSON OF CHRIST IN THE THOUGHT OF TO-DAY: WHAT DO THE GOSPELS TEACH US?

By Burton Scott Easton, D.D.

I SHALL limit my discussion of this theme to a single aspect: What do the Gospels, critically considered, teach us as to Christ's own estimate of His Person? The phrase I have just used, "the Gospels, critically considered," of course no longer needs defence, but a word as to the extent of its current implications may not be amiss. Our Gospels are records of the words and acts of Christ, no doubt, but they are something more than this; they are likewise records of the convictions and experiences of the Church at the times the Evangelists wrote, so that in the records the original facts are often somewhat difficult to disentangle from the interests of a later day. The problem is most familiar in the case of the Fourth Gospel, but it exists just as truly in the three Synoptists as well; no serious student nowadays would think of treating St. Mark as the simple record of the Petrine preaching or even the Sayings ("Q") source as so objective as to guarantee the authenticity of every fact contained therein.

Synoptic criticism moved ahead so rapidly in the decade 1904-1914 that the older works now seem strangely outmoded, but in the years since the war the advance appears to be even more significant. A new school has arisen, devoted to what is called *Formgeschichte* or "history of form," which is devoting its attention to the earliest oral

transmission of Christ's sayings and acts and to the modifications that would inevitably arise in the process. Naturally we are not yet in a position to appraise these most recent efforts with any degree of finality, but that they are achieving remarkable success in the solution of certain problems is evident. Yet at the same time they are raising new and highly important questions whose answers are not now clear, so that it behooves the student to step even more cautiously than of old. None the less, through all the critical haze various facts emerge whose consistency, both with one another and with our knowledge of the times, shows us that we are on firm ground.

The first of these is that Christ held Himself to be Messiah. We are, of course, all aware of the interrogation points that have been added to this statement since Wrede's work in 1901, and that some very able scholars prefer to keep to a certain agnosticism here. But the evidence, both direct and indirect, is much too solid to justify such doubts; in fact the very critical investigations that produced the hesitation have furnished the corrective. It is obvious enough, past doubt, that the Messianic consciousness and the Messianic titles have been carried by the Evangelists and by their sources into contexts where they do not belong but most of such occurrences lie with equal obviousness on the periphery of the tradition. It is now tolerably clear that the confusion in more central matters is due to a precisely opposite cause, a dread on the part of our Second Evangelist lest Messiahship be interpreted in too nationalistic terms.

His famous section 8:27-9:1 represents a drastic revision of an earlier tradition. Of the thirteen verses here at least five (8:34-38) are addressed to a "multitude" that is suddenly called *ex nihilo,* a multitude which really exists only in order to permit St. Mark to direct some of Christ's words taken from the Sayings source to the Church of His own day,—*urbi et orbi:* Let no one know Christ after the

flesh! The same motive is responsible for the unsympathetic tone that pervades the whole section; Christ's almost ungracious reception of St. Peter's confession, the emphasis on the details of the Passion, and, above all, the rebuke to St. Peter. It is not until we reach the first verse of the ninth chapter that the tone changes, although even the promise there is given with the utmost compression.

What has happened is this. St. Mark knew that at Cæsarea Philippi the disciples had acknowledged Christ as Messiah and had been praised for so doing. But this praise had been so turned to partisan ends by the more Jewish section of the Church that our Evangelist has told the story in such a way as to emphasize every defect in the faith of those disciples. It is with precisely the same purpose that he prefaces (8:17-18) and follows (9:19) the section with Christ's sharpest condemnations on the Apostles' lack of understanding. It is not difficult to surmise that St. Mark would have omitted the whole scene, if he had dared. This he obviously could not do because it was too firmly fixed in tradition. But after his editing it could not be made to subserve any party purposes.

It has been worth while to spend so much time on this one section on account of its basic importance, for, when this principal point has been cleared up, the rest is simple. Christ held Himself to be Messiah. Now "Messiah" means more than "one inspired to reveal the nature of God's Kingdom" or "one inspired to predict the coming of God's Kingdom." "Messiah," a technical term in Jewish theology and one that has no meaning outside Jewish theology, means "one commissioned to establish God's Kingdom." That is, "Messiah" means more than "prophet"; if this fact were borne in mind more consistently, current discussions would often be spared needless confusion. In other words, while Christ undoubtedly felt prophetic authority to teach the ways of God to men and to proclaim the advent of a new era, the

exercise of such authority did not exhaust the office that He held. God had called Him not only to preach and to predict but to establish; until the new era was definitely and finally complete His work as Messiah would be imperfect.

The nature of the office, then, is defined by the nature of the work, the bringing into being of the Kingdom of God, which Christ, like the Baptist, proclaimed to be at hand. The phrase means "the rule of God" originally contrasted with the rule of other lords, human or demoniac, but this rule is always conceived of in as sharply supernaturalistic a sense as is God Himself. Such rule is in no way to be identified with a moral reform of humanity. Such a reform was demanded by both Christ and the Baptist, but the reform was not the Kingdom; it was the preparation for the Kingdom. The famous saying in St. Luke 17:21 consequently cannot mean "the Kingdom of God is in your hearts"; its true sense is either "the beginnings of the Kingdom are already active in your midst," or, more probably, as the context demands, "the Kingdom will come among you without warning." Man may and should do his utmost to prepare himself for the gift, but the gift itself can come only through the direct interposition of God.

There can indeed be no doubt that Christ thought that a first foretaste of the heavenly blessing was being granted during His lifetime. It first appeared in connection with His own person. "If I by the finger of God cast out demons, then is the kingdom of God come upon you" (Luke 11:20); the supernatural power that was being wielded by God's Anointed was bringing confusion into the supernatural hordes of evil. Then by degrees God gave the boon to others who had become sufficiently prepared, so the seed could be thought of as sown and growing, the leaven as at active work. There are they who are already "in" the Kingdom, whose names are written in heaven, whose efforts have shaken Satan from the throne he has won as ruler of the world.

But this is only the beginning. The seed will continue to grow, the leaven will continue to spread, but the processes are not of orderly continuity. Not all men can be converted, for only some of the seed falls on good ground; in fact, as things were then, it seemed as though the greater part of humanity had put themselves beyond the reach of God's call. So when the preparation had gone on sufficiently God would intervene. Then the Messiah would banish the unruly and admit the faithful, living and departed, into a realm purged from evil and from death. When this was done,—but not until then,—would the Messiah be truly Messiah.

Such was necessarily Christ's conviction. But this conviction was crossed by another, that His earthly life would end, not in success, but in death at the hands of His enemies. That He began His ministry with such an expectation is most improbable; in fact, the Gospels show us at the first a genuine optimistic joyousness. But such optimism could not endure, for the nation as a whole was irreformable. The people might have an enormous superficial enthusiasm, but their applause was for the healer and orator, not for the teacher, while the religious and civil rulers of Israel had no doubts as to the incompatibility of their position and Christ's. And so the growth of an aloofness on Christ's part can be traced without difficulty, an attitude relieved only by His growing confidence in His disciples, the "babes" whom God had chosen.

The tension between Him and the scribes, increasing to the point of deadly hatred, is perfectly familiar, while the steps that Herod Antipas took to ensure Christ's leaving Galilee are plain enough to anyone who cares to look, even though they have been somewhat obscured by the Evangelists. So, as to leave Palestine was unthinkable, Christ was forced to go to Jerusalem where His fate had long been settled, as everyone knew; St. Mark has a good tradition when he tells

us (10:32) that as Christ chose the road leading up to the Holy City the disciples were "amazed and terrified."

How was the certainty of ultimate triumph that was inseparable from His Messianic self-consciousness to be reconciled with the certainty of death that obvious facts disclosed? There could be only one answer. The Messianic self-consciousness, already supernatural in its general content, was driven by the prospect of His fate into the realm of the purely supernatural. Apocalyptic categories alone could resolve the antinomy and proper apocalyptic categories were ready at hand. Christ's Messiahship was to be realized beyond the grave, from heaven, from God's right hand, as the celestial Son of Man.

When this conviction was reached we do not know, but there is no reason to doubt St. Mark's statement that it was first disclosed to the disciples at the time of St. Peter's confession. (St. Mark 2:20 is a palpable gloss.) Such a secret was to be closely guarded and it is no wonder that the secret was well kept; the disciples knew as well as did their Master what would be the effect of disclosing so momentous a claim. Whether or not Judas revealed it as part of his treachery we cannot know; this is plausible but is only a conjecture. At any rate, when before the Sanhedrin Christ was placed on trial for Messianic pretensions, the accusers could produce no direct evidence and to prove their charge they had to rely on roundabout testimony. But when they had heard enough witnesses to make out a *prima facie* case and the accused was required to plead, there was no reason for the accused to preserve further reticence. Jesus and the official rulers of His people were face to face at last, and they were entitled to know the truth. "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" His answer came in unmistakable terms, "Messiah,—yes,—but more than earthly Messiah, Messiah-Son-of-Man, sitting on the right hand of God and coming with the clouds of heaven." The

prosecution had achieved its purpose beyond its highest hopes. There was no need of further procedure to determine the truth or falsity of the claim, for its falsity seemed self-evident; one answer and only one was possible, "Blasphemy!" And as a blasphemer they condemned Christ and handed Him over to the Romans to be crucified.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST IN THE THOUGHT OF TO-DAY: WHAT DO THE GOSPELS TEACH US?

By George A. Barton, Ph.D., LL.D.

WHAT the Gospels teach us, depends in some degree upon how we approach them. It was long ago noticed by those who approach them uncritically that each evangelist presents his own portrait of the Master. St. Mark presents him as a marvellous teacher and worker of wonders; St. Matthew as the Jewish Messiah; St. Luke as the sympathetic Saviour of Mankind; St. John as God walking in the flesh. He who simply reads the Gospels finds on their pages these different portraits of the Son of God, and, if he is thoughtful, is puzzled.

A hundred and fifty years of critical study of the Gospels as historical sources have made it clear that the Gospel of St. John is more of a theological treatise than an historical source; that St. Matthew was written by one who took considerable liberty with his material under the influence of a theory of the relation of the Messiah to Old Testament prophecy; that St. Mark reveals the real humanity of Jesus; that, while St. Luke presents in the main an historical picture, he tends to tone down the human and to heighten the marvellous in the Lord's life. Underlying the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke there are traceable two or more documents (I believe they were more than two) of which St. Mark's was one. There are those who neglect this study of the documents and attempt to explain their contents by means of comparative religion.

As a result of all this study, six different types of books on the life of Christ are at present on the market. Writers like Strauss, J. M. Robertson, Drews, W. B. Smith, Jensen, Zimmern, and Erbt resolve the life of Jesus into myths—some of them going so far as to say that He never lived. No real New Testament scholar takes these men seriously.

Then there are the sceptics, Wrede and Nathaniel Schmidt, who make Jesus merely a prophet—a thoroughly modern man. Next, the eschatologists, Johannes Weiss and Schweitzer, who all but bury Jesus under the Messianic expectations of His fellow Jews—presenting Him as a man altogether carried away by the false world theory of His time. Meantime we have eclectic impressionistic lives of Christ, like those of Renan and Papini, and the old-fashioned harmonistic, uncritical lives of the Master are still with us. In addition to all these there is another type of work—that inaugurated by Keim's *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara.* Authors of this type seek by means of a critical use of the sources and an intelligent appreciation of the spiritual forces at work, to recover the really historical Christ. Writers of this school tread on more solid ground than those of other schools, and have already done much to depict for us the Son of Man as He was and as He lived—a portrait truly winning, in which the Divine shines through the human.

Of late, writers of this type have fallen into two groups: according as they do or do not yield something to the influence of Schweitzer. The one group, of whom we may take Professor Ernst von Dobschüts as an example, accept the account of the Temptation of Jesus as historical, believe that in that experience He determined to be a Messiah of quite a different type from that expected by the Jews; that, while He later employed apocalyptic language in figurative and transfigured meanings, a large part of the apocalyptic material attributed to Him in the Gospels reflects the thoughts and expectations of His reporters rather than of

Jesus Himself. An instance of this misunderstanding is, they believe, found in the 13th chapter of St. Mark's Gospel, in which an apocalypse written by a Jewish Christian of the time of Caligula, 39-41 A.D., and attributed to Jesus, has been combined with words of Jesus Himself, and is still easily separable from them. The other school, of which we may take Professor Ernest F. Scott as an example, rejects the story of the Temptation as unhistorical, holds that the thirteenth of St. Mark is a unit, that the eschatological language of the Gospels represents Jesus' own thought, and that He was altogether more of a child of the first century than had been supposed. According to this group of scholars, Jesus expected, when He sent out the Twelve to preach, that God would intervene with a cataclysm and establish His kingdom before they had finished their mission. In this He was disappointed. He then purified and deepened His apocalyptic hope and went to Jerusalem, expecting that then the cataclysm was to occur, and was again disappointed. In my judgment the truth lies with the first class of writers, but the second group enrols some fine scholars—Sanday, Burkitt, and Scott himself. Nevertheless it does not seem too much to say that large experience in Old Testament criticism, and especially education in the analysis of documents gained by long study of the Pentateuch, would have been an advantage to the New Testament studies of these men, and would have enabled them with surer hand to discriminate between the Master and His reporters.

Both groups of writers present us a portrait of Christ that makes Him spiritually and ethically without peer. Schweitzer, the protagonist of the eschatological Jesus, writes: "Jesus does not build up His ethic with a view of solving the problem of how to organize a perfectly ethical society, but He preaches the ethic of men who together strive to attain to a perfect yielding of themselves to the will of God. Because He thus turns away from the utilitarian, He attains

the absolute ethic." Wellhausen, a writer of a very different sort, says of Jesus: "The originality of Jesus consists in this, that He had the feeling for what was true and eternal amid a chaotic mass of rubbish."

Turning for a moment from the spiritual and ethical to the marvellous, many in our time are troubled by the miraculous element in the Gospels. Some are troubled because it is there. They find law reigning in the world about them; they would like to believe in Jesus Christ, but miracles are a stumbling block. Others, hearing that some explain the miracles rationally, cling to them the more tenaciously as indubitable evidence that Christ was indeed the Son of God. Doubtless the older rationalists were crude and many sins have been committed in the name of reason. Too often interpreters of the Gospel narratives, whether rationalists or defenders of tradition, have been irreverent in handling holy things. Nevertheless it should be remembered that he who approached an ancient sanctuary, while required in reverence to take off his shoes, was not required to empty his head, and one, in endeavouring to recover the portrait of the real Jesus, may, with all reverence, still use his brain. Indeed, if he would know what really happened, he must discriminate between events recorded and the account of them given in the Gospels—between the occurrence and the evangelist's explanation of the occurrence—just as he would if he were reading of something that happened in modern times. An illustration will make my meaning clear.

For many years I knew a resident of one of our eastern cities, a successful merchant and financier, shrewd in business, engaged in large enterprises, who was also deeply religious. His wife had died before I knew him, and he was not only faithful to her memory, but carried about some of her letters with him and read from them with deep emotion every day. One summer he was travelling

with his sister and some friends. They were riding in a sleeping car. About noon he was standing leaning on the back of a seat, talking to his sister and a gentleman across the aisle, when a bridge gave way and the train was precipitated to the bottom of a river. The Pullman in which they were riding was crushed like an egg shell. My friend's sister and the gentleman to whom he was talking were both killed, but miraculously, as it seemed, the roof of the car opened over my friend's head and he escaped with a few scratches. Fifteen years later, he requested me to give him an opportunity to speak at a summer conference, the programme of which I was arranging, and with great emotion he told us of this experience, saying it was something so sacred to him that he had never before told of it, but that he thought it his duty to tell it before he died.

After describing his terrible experience and remarkable escape, he said: "Do you know how my life was spared? The good Lord sent the spirit of my dear wife and she opened the roof of that car from above my head so that my life might be spared." It mattered not to him that his wife had been a delicate lady unused to the herculean task of smashing car-roofs; he firmly believed what he said. Those of us who knew him would have implicitly trusted his word as to the value of a bale of wool or the security of a bond, but, as to the cause of his wonderful escape, we felt at liberty to doubt whether it might not be other than the one he so confidently assigned.

Something like this, if done with reverence and humility, is right for the student of the Gospels. The Evangelists lived when a world theory quite different from ours prevailed, and they undoubtedly mingled what actually happened with their explanations of what they saw in the accounts they have given us. We do them no wrong to distinguish fact from explanation in their accounts. Indeed,

if we do not do this, we may wrong both our Master and the hungry souls about us, who long to know Him.

Is there then, some one will ask, no supernatural element in the Gospel? Surely there is, and our historical study is helping us to see that it does not lie in physical marvels, such as an Edison, a Steinmetz, or a Wright might perform, but in the Christ Himself, His consciousness of God, the depth and height of His Person and character; in the spiritual quality of His inner life, His unerring ethical insight, the surety with which He looked into the heart of God and the character of man, and the superhuman quality of the love and goodness which radiated from Him. These are the things which make up personality—the things through which real Godhood may be revealed—and by whatever one of the modern methods of approaching His life, the mythological alone excepted, we study it, these qualities stand out supreme.

As Professor Easton has spoken of Christ's Messianic consciousness, I will confine myself here to His ethical insight and teaching. Perhaps the best way to gain an appreciation of the remarkable character of that insight and the compellingly attractive quality of His teaching is to approach the study as President Henry Churchill King does in his book, "The Ethics of Jesus." Schmiedel had said that we could be sure that only nine of the sayings attributed to Jesus and three of the sayings about Him were genuine. These he called "pillar passages." President King says, "Let us see what the ethical teaching of these passages is." A study of these reveals to us the earnestness of the life of Jesus; His teaching that genuineness and loyalty to the inner life are essential, that falseness is the fatal sin; they show the inwardness of all true spiritual life and Jesus' insistence on spiritual independence; His reverence for personality; His ethical conception of religion, and His religious conception of the ethical; His realization that His teaching

was in strong contrast to that of His contemporaries; the deep compassion of Jesus and His demand for a like spirit in others; Jesus' sense of conviction, insight, message, calling; His sense of His unique relation to God and His possession of life for men. There is also the impression of authority, which He made upon those who heard Him.

Leaving now Schmiedel's "pillar passages," and turning to the sayings which are found both in St. Matthew and St. Luke,—the doubly attested sayings,—we find, when we ask what the ethical teaching of these doubly attested sayings is, that it is identical with that of the "pillar passages." Every one of the ethical emphases which appears in the one set of passages appears in the other, and, in both these, moral principles are plainly basic, not subsidiary. In addition, one finds here a clear vision of life's fundamental temptations and the spirit in which all high work must be conceived and executed—"man cannot live by bread alone"; "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve"; "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." One finds also the antithesis to the Pharisaic spirit, the necessity of sympathetic forgiveness, and emphasis upon the seriousness of life.

When we pass to the ethical teaching of Jesus in the Gospel of St. Mark we find in addition the faith of Jesus in the ethical trend of the universe set forth; His method was the contagion of a good life; His motive was love. The notes and emphasis found in the "pillar passages" are also present.

Again, in those passages which appear in the Gospel of St. Matthew alone, we find the same elements,—the sense of the seriousness of life, the demand for inwardness and genuineness in the moral life, Jesus' insistence on reverence for persons, evidence that to Him religion was ethical through and through.

If, finally, we turn to the sayings of Jesus reported in

St. Luke's Gospel alone, we find all the notes of the "pillar passages" present, but amplified and extended. Nowhere else is the ground laid quite so perfectly for faith in the love of God, in love at the heart of the world. Nowhere is love revealed more surely as life itself. In it all there is markedly present emphasis on that inner appeal on which Jesus everywhere relied as the sole evidence needed for moral truth.

The result of such an approach to the study of the ethics of Jesus brings out as nothing else could His unique ethical insight and power. It reveals the compelling influence of His unique and creative personality. Here are sayings so strange that even the sceptic says no one would have invented them, also sayings which are so like what men desired that, says the sceptic, they may have been invented. Sayings attested by three documents, two documents, one document,—documents written by men of widely different training and interest,—and yet by them all is revealed the same vital ethical principles, the same unerring insight, the same faith in the ethical trend of the universe, the same reverence for persons, the same emphasis upon love. How out of the ordinary must have been the Teacher who so taught! How wonderful the teaching—the inner significance of which no reporter could obscure!

Put this teaching of Jesus in comparison with that of others. He taught much that the Jewish Rabbis taught, but He taught no "rubbish," and with all their good, they could not, like him, distinguish the wheat from the chaff. Compare it with the great teachers of India. Most of them will tell you that "spirituality is not morality—that is, to become spiritual by merging into the divine is something apart, something which ultimately is above all ethic." In the teaching of Jesus spirituality and morality are parts of one whole. Ethic finds its motive in religion and religion descends to express itself in ethics.

By the ancient philosophers of China many beautiful things were said. Confucius expressed the Golden Rule in negative form; Lao-tse, in positive form. Moh-ti in many ways anticipated Jesus' teaching of love. But Chinese piety, as taught by them, is built on sand. It assumed that we may read in nature the religion of love, and that meditation on nature leads to that religion. By Jesus we are taught not to look to Nature, but to God; not to a vague impersonal force, but to a personal Father.

There are many paths by which one is led to believe Jesus Christ to be more than man. But if we had His ethical teaching alone, and fairly compared it in all its height and depth with the best the world has to offer, we should be compelled to say: "Never man so spake"; "God who in many ways and in various portions spake in olden time to the fathers by prophets and sages hath in these last days spoken to us by One that is Son." "Truly this Man was the Son of God"!

WHAT DO THE GOSPELS TEACH US?

By Elwood Worcester, Ph.D., D.D.

THERE are one or two things I think I might be permitted to speak of. One is the reference which has been made to Schweitzer. If I may be permitted to allude to his treatment of the life of the Lord, I will say that the pre-eminent greatness of Schweitzer's thought is that it has given back to us a true and faithful picture of Jesus' life on earth within certain limits. It is very easy to say that New Testament scholars utterly ignore or attach no importance to the claims of mythologists. Whether they do or not, a great many other scholars do and a great many other persons do. I venture to think, however, that Schweitzer's presentation of the life of the Lord has cut the ground from under the mythological position altogether, just as it has cut the ground from under the old rationalistic presentation of the life of the Lord as simply a moral, spiritual, or ethical teacher. That is one of its great merits.

Another of its great merits is this—that it is the only teaching with which I am acquainted in modern times at all events, that has enabled us to understand and to estimate the motives of the Lord's death. All the old liberal and critical lives of Jesus were good up to a certain point, and that was the point where he set his face to go to Jerusalem. They ascribe invariably His death to the failure of His cause, or to the murder of John the Baptist, or to His being obliged to flee out of Galilee, or to one thing or another of the

same order, and therefore they miss the golden guiding thread of the Saviour's death which St. Mark plainly gives to us—"that the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many." The defect, I think, of the eschatological position is that it attaches far too little importance to the healing ministry of Jesus.

This healing ministry, from every point of view, is one of the deep characteristic notes of Jesus' life. Just as the life of Buddha was one of meditation and thought, so the life of Jesus is one of healing.

I should like, next and last, to make a suggestion to Professor Easton in regard to Judas Iscariot,—that up to a certain point there is no word of condemnation or criticism, anything of the kind, addressed towards Judas; but from that time on some deep alienation occurred between Judas and Jesus. It is perfectly useless to think that Judas was so avaricious as to sell his Lord for seventeen or eighteen dollars. What happened to Judas was that when the Messianic secret was revealed to him he did not believe it. He regarded it very much in the same light in which Caiaphas regarded it. That is brought out most plainly in the last week of Jesus' life and also at His trial. Nothing was said about the Messianic question during that last week, but at last what Judas betrayed was not where He spent the night, but His Messianic secret; and that, it seems to me, appears most plainly during the trial, when Caiaphas——

[*Here the secretary's bell rang, the period for voluntary speeches being limited strictly to five minutes.*]

WHAT DO THE GOSPELS TEACH US?

By Walker Gwynne, D.D.

I WISH to call attention to two important facts which my experience tells me have been ignored even by scholars and students of our Lord's life. One is in regard to miracles. It is forgotten, it seems to be ignored, that our Lord was the only person in all history who wrought miracles, who claimed to. Mohammed did not; he did not dare to. Confucius did not. Swedenborg, who claimed a revelation, an immediate revelation, never dared. He was a scientist, a very great scientist, you remember, one of the greatest of his century. He did not dare to. The founder of Mormonism did not dare to. Nobody dared to but the Lord Jesus Christ. And why? Because when one claims to perform a miracle he must give evidence of it, and no man could who was not what our Lord was.

Now, one other thing that seems to me ignored. Do you realize, brethren, that our Lord never commanded anyone to love God? Now that is a pretty strong statement to make, but if you will read your New Testament carefully you will find that He never issues a command to love God. He quotes the old commandment: "Thou shalt love God"; he tells men they have not the love of God in them. What does He say? "Love *Me*"—always. "If ye have not the love of me, then ye are wrong." "Anyone who loves his father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." You remember what He said to St. Peter—I need not quote those passages, you know them perfectly. And yet

that fact seems to be ignored; our Lord never commands anyone to love God, but it is "Love *Me.*". Because—why? "Because I am God. I am your Maker; I am your Saviour; I am"—everything that the Church has claimed for Him.

I leave with you, then, those two very important thoughts: No man wrought miracles except our Lord; no man dared to. And our Lord never commanded anyone to love God, but He did command everyone to love Him as God.

WHAT DO THE GOSPELS TEACH US?

Questions Addressed to Writers and Speakers by Various Members of the Congress, with the Answers

Mr. CLEVELAND. I would like to ask Dr. Easton what bearing the eschatological view of the teaching of Jesus had on the pre-millennial doctrine?

Dr. EASTON. The eschatological doctrine and the millennial doctrine teach the two comings of Christ, one to establish the earthly kingdom, one to establish the heavenly kingdom. About that there is not one trace in the Gospel teaching. It is in other parts of the New Testament very definitely, but not in the Gospels. So that, so far as the question of Christ's own Apocalyptic teaching is concerned, the question of the millennium is entirely irrelevant.

Mr. COGAN. Do the gentlemen who use the word "miracle" so often mean that God never does anything which baffles human reason? Or do they mean that possibly some day our sensitivity will be so increased that it will be able to understand miracles in rational terms?

Dr. EASTON. Mr. Chairman, I can only reply that in my paper I did not use the word "miracle," nor did I make any allusion to miracles in any shape, manner, or form whatsoever.

Dr. GWYNNE. Our vision is very narrow indeed and law extends far beyond our boundary, so that a miracle

need not be and never is contrary to a reign of law, but is only contrary to what we know as the reign of law. Huxley makes that point and acknowledges its cogency.

Dr. KAMMERER. May I ask Dr. Easton if he will be good enough to explain to me something in regard to the nature of that passage which says, "Thou shalt not go through the cities of Israel"? I think he knows the text. Professor Lake, I think, in his book on "The Beginnings of Christianity," has intimated that that represents a later element added at that point. It is a crucial text, is it not, sir?

Dr. EASTON. The passage in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, "Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come," is a crucial passage. It is not necessarily so by itself. The first verse in the ninth chapter of St. Mark, "Verily I say unto you, that there be some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power," is another one. Another is: "Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away until all these things be fulfilled." And there is a fourth somewhere, but it slips my mind just at this moment. Are they part of Christ's original teachings, or are they infusions into the text of the Gospel, due to the overvivid apocalyptic expectations of the early Church? To discuss that question Dr. Barton and I could start in all afresh and go on indefinitely. I can only state my own personal feeling, that the evidence is a little too keen for the surgical operation that extricates those passages from our Lord's own teachings. I agree entirely with Dr. Martin that the so-called Apocalypse in the thirteenth chapter of St. Mark does not represent Christ's teaching but belongs to a later date.

A Voice. Will Dr. Worcester finish his sentence?

Bishop SLATTERY. Dr. Worcester, will you mend the sentence which was broken by the bell?

Dr. WORCESTER. The thing that I had in mind when I stopped speaking was this: Up to a certain point no rebuke or criticism had been passed on Judas at all. St. John represents Judas as clamouring and making a great fuss when the woman brought in the precious ointment, but the other Evangelists say nothing about it. Judas was not the one who wanted a high place in the kingdom of God. Some deep alienation occurred, evidently, between Judas and Jesus at the end. Jesus saw that alienation evident in Judas' changed behaviour and demeanour. He said, "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?" And, "The hand of the one that betrayeth me is dipped with mine in the dish." The explanation comes out, to my mind, most plainly at the trial. All through this last week there was no discussion of Messianic claims at all; only the old conundrums about the woman with seven husbands, and whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar or not, etc. They brought forward at the trial their witnesses—it is hard to say why they called false witnesses, because Jesus had certainly said something about destroying the Temple. But that was not what they wanted at all. What the chief priests wanted was a capital indictment before a judicial inquiry, before their supreme court, because they did not dare assassinate the great prophet of Galilee at the time when Jerusalem was thronged with Galileans, who were about as touchy as gunpowder. That was very plain during the trial. One thing after another was brought forward and nothing could be proved. At last Caiaphas comes forward with the secret he had bought and paid for from Judas, and he puts Jesus upon His oath, saying, "I adjure thee by the living God that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God." And Jesus, knowing all that was involved in this question and the transaction with Judas at its back, rose at once to a far greater height and solemnly rehearsed His claim, although knowing that it sealed His fate.

In other words, it seems to me very plain that Judas Iscariot regarded Jesus' Messiahship very much in the light in which Caiaphas regarded it, and as soon as it was made plain to him, it shocked him and he shrank from the Lord and betrayed His secret. I think that also is the only explanation of the great change in the demeanour of the populace of Jerusalem. They all were glad to welcome the Great Physician and Healer of Galilee, but when the claim was announced that he was the Son of God and coming in judgment, they also adjudged Him worthy of death.

Mr. WALSH. May I ask Dr. Barton the origin of the term, "Son of Man," which our Lord used, and just how much would be understood by his use of the term "Son of Man" for a personal pronoun?

Dr. BARTON. "Son of Man" in the Messianic sense, has usually referred back to the thirteenth verse of the seventh chapter of Daniel, where man in his glory is contrasted with the four beasts of the earth. Certain modern research points to an origin rather further back than that, connecting it somehow with the early mythology of a heavenly pattern. If it is understood that Christ appropriated the title to Himself in the Messianic sense, there would be no doubt also that it meant the Heavenly Messiah of Daniel and the similitudes of Enoch. It is also used to mean simply a human being, the ordinary term for "man." At the beginning of the third century it is only the Aramaic term that means "man" any longer. So the term means, sometimes a human being, and sometimes the celestial Messiah, according to the context.

Mr. WALSH. Was it in the Messianic sense that our Lord used "Son of Man"?

Dr. BARTON. I believe so.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I was very much impressed by the illustration which Dr. Barton gave of the man who had survived, as he thought miraculously, from a rail-

road accident, and attributed it to the miraculous intervention of his wife. Dr. Barton seemed to imply that something of that same kind or type of interpretation of the miraculous acts of our Lord was given by those who have given us the Gospel record. Now it seemed to me there is in this illustration a form of interpretation which we instinctively reject as inadequate as soon as given. The interpretations that are given to us of the miraculous acts of our Lord in the Gospel records, in the first place, are given to us not with peculiar or individual idiosyncrasy or as the evidence of any one man. They seem to be based upon what might be considered a common tradition.

The second thing I had in mind in connection with the records of our Lord's supposedly miraculous acts is a very remarkable reticence in the matter of explanation. But if the men who have given us these records treated these miraculous acts as did this gentleman in giving us an explanation of his miraculous escape from the railroad accident, I would like very much to have Dr. Barton further develop that point.

Bishop SLATTERY. I ask Dr. Barton not only to answer this question but to sum up the discussion.

Dr. BARTON. I am very glad to try to make a little clearer the bearing of that illustration. I think, if you will recall the account of the raising of the daughter of Jaïrus in the Gospel, you will be able to see exactly what I mean. Our Lord declared that the girl was not dead, she was only sleeping. They laughed Him to scorn, we are told, knowing that she was dead. It was popularly believed that she was dead. Jesus spoke to her and recalled her to life.

Physicians know quite well that there is a state of coma that is difficult to distinguish from death. A skilled physician is sometimes puzzled. There were no skilled physicians there. Need we suppose, with our medical knowledge, that

Jesus did more than arouse her from a state of coma? The people did not know the difference between coma and death. They therefore would naturally explain the occurrence that He had raised a person from the dead.

Now, I have taken that incident because it is reported in more than one Gospel. There is another incident recorded in the seventh chapter in the Gospel according to St. Luke that comes to us on the authority of only one document. I believe it was an early document, but many regard it as late and therefore many have rejected it as probably unhistorical. I mean the raising from the dead of the son of the widow of Nain. Those of you who have been in the East know that burials there always take place on the day of death. They cannot in that hot climate without ice keep bodies longer. Everybody thought that man was dead; they were going to bury him. They had no knowledge of the sort of chemical change in the muscles that goes on and creates what is known as *rigor mortis*. Jesus recalls him to life. With our knowledge we need not necessarily suppose that Jesus had the power, or exercised the power if he had it, of reversing the chemical changes that begin in the physical frame after death. It is sufficient again to suppose that He called the man out of a state of coma. Those people did not know the difference; the calling him out of the state of coma they took for resurrection from the dead, and so reported it. It had all the effect of exalting Jesus, in their minds, as though He had raised the man from the dead. My point is, do we need to make difficulties for the modern mind by accepting those popular explanations based on limited knowledge when other explanations with our knowledge are quite ready at our hand?

Mr. ROSEWELL PAGE. May I interrupt you before you close by asking you, how about the raising of the dead Lazarus, who "hath been dead four days and stinketh"?

Dr. BARTON. I would like to remind you, in the first

place, that the stinking was mentioned before they opened the tomb. It was simply an inference. They did not say anything about it after the tomb was opened. And the account in which we read of the raising of Lazarus was written, according to the most conservative critics, some sixty years after the event. It is not contemporary testimony. There is time there for the introduction of exaggeration in the transmission of the testimony. It is quite possible that Lazarus, again—as our Lord is reported to have said, "He sleepeth,"—was in a state of coma. But the one objection to all this—and it is an objection that in frankness I will mention—I think any doctor will tell you that in ordinary experience death is much more common than coma. But it is possible, as many critics think, that the story of Lazarus is not historical at all. I am inclined myself to believe that there is an historical element in it. But those cases illustrate what I meant.

Now a gentleman here says that our Lord is the only one in the course of history who claimed to do miracles. I am not sure that history would bear him out there. But I do recall very distinctly that our Lord said, "This generation seeketh a sign, and no sign shall be given to it." I do recall very distinctly that our Lord refused to meet the expectations of the people. And while there are undoubtedly passages in the Gospel which our friend could refer to on the other side, I think it is just possible that they may have gotten in there in the course of transmission. The difficulty with all of us is that we tend to dogmatize as to our theories, both for miracles and against them. Please do not understand that I am dogmatizing at all; I am simply endeavouring to throw out suggestions that may be reverently followed and that it will do no harm to believe if we do not dogmatize about them and believe them too hardly.

Mr. DEVRIES. Dr. Barton, may I interrupt? Why not

finish the sentence: "No sign shall be given to this generation except that which has been given, even the sign of Jonah"?

Dr. BARTON. That would take me into a lot of discussion that I am afraid I should not have time for, but I would say this: The "sign of Jonah" there, if it is correctly reported in the Gospel according to St. Luke, meant the sign of preaching so that a generation would repent, and it did not have anything to do, as St. Matthew would have us believe, with Jonah's being in the belly of the fish.

Now, in conclusion I would like to say just a word about Dr. Schweitzer. I agree heartily with Dr. Worcester that he is a genius, and I agree heartily that he is one of the most saintly characters that our generation has produced. In his presence I would take off my hat if not my shoes. That does not mean that I would accept all his theories, but I would like to commend in conclusion the last book of Schweitzer's, "Christianity and the Religions of the World." You see as you read that little book—you can read it through in an hour or two—you see this remarkable mind and this wonderfully devout man presenting to you most persuasively the supreme religion of the world, the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ; the religion that has in it the potency of reaching the world as no other religion can reach—not because, like other religions, it attempts to explain the world by a system of philosophy, but because it introduces us into fellowship through Jesus Christ with the great Companion who knows the answers to all our problems and in whose fellowship we can be content to go on, even if our finite intellects cannot solve them.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST IN THE THOUGHT OF TO-DAY

§ 2

HOW FAR IS THE LANGUAGE OF THE CONCILIAR DECREES RELEVANT TO MODERN THOUGHT?

HOW FAR IS THE LANGUAGE OF THE CONCILIAR DECREES RELEVANT TO MODERN THOUGHT?

By Frank Gavin, Th.D.

"The essence of Christianity, as of everything else, is the whole of it; and the genuine nature of a seed is at least as well expressed by what it becomes in contact with the earth and air as by what it seems in its primitive minuteness" (G. Santayana, *Winds of Doctrine,* 1913, p. 29).

"To be well dressed always, one must be differently dressed at different times. To speak the truth at all times it is not enough to use at all times the same words. If you are to know more every day through life of the one truth, it is not allowed to search every day in the same manner" (P. N. Waggett, *Lumen Vitae,* p. 151).

THE phrasing of the problem would seem to put the matter in the form of an open and shut question, to which quite simply one of three answers might be made: it might be said either that the language of the Conciliar Decrees is entirely relevant to modern thought, or that it is partly relevant, or that it is totally irrelevant. Whichever of these answers is given, or by whatever other method the problem is dealt with, several vital matters demand at the very outset some degree of explication. In what sense is "modern thought" taken? Is it to be regarded as the final norm and arbiter by which everything is to be adjudicated, or as perhaps a fugitive phase in the evolution of human thinking? What was the "language of the Conciliar Decrees" meant to convey? What authority, if any, has the

underlying experience which they purported to embody, for subsequent generations of Christians? How far is restatement necessary and justifiable, and under what conditions is it to be made?

If relevancy is determined by the interest of the subject, then nothing whatever can be so considered until it becomes a matter which engages attention. Yet we may not abandon everything which is not within the field of our present interest as irrelevant, consigning it thereby to a kind of limbo, and do justice either to ourselves as living entities in the stream of history or to the facts, persons, and events which are equally part and parcel of that stream. By implication to do so were to assign to the present mode of thinking and prevailing scope of interest a finality and ultimate authority which would mean death to the intelligent adjustment of the present to its historical environment. If one were to suggest that the standard to which all the facts and interpretations of the past were to be aligned is that chimerical entity known as "modern thought," it is easy to see how the procedure would be both absurd and futile. Can the present style of thinking be said to control facts? Is it the final arbiter of all that has been valuable before it came upon the horizon? Whatever we may know about "modern thought" inclines us to regard it as tentative, both as to method and content. Why the ephemeral and fugitive opinion of any particular time should be accorded a position of supremacy and infallibility, it is difficult to see. No tyranny of the past can be so exacting as the infallibility of the present.

But, I take it, this would be an entirely unfair conception of the terms of the question. Strictly speaking, it addresses itself to the relevancy of the *terminology* of the Decrees to modern thought, and does not, by any sort of just implication, ascribe to "modern thought" any august position of judicial supremacy. By the circumstances of his-

tory—heredity and environment—we are born into a world of ideas, begin our intellectual life with a certain *Weltanschauung,* and have already to hand a whole vast mass of crude material out of which we, of this generation, must make the intellectual construction of our own spiritual edifice. Modern thought sets us the problem; it does not answer it. It gives us the materials; it does not (and may not) dictate the result.

We are then thrown back upon the examination of the data presented the present generation of Christian believers in the Conciliar Decrees. What did they purport to be? What was their language meant to convey? We are thus concerned with the question of the adequacy of the terminology of the Decrees, both as to *matter* and *manner.* It is obvious that no just estimate can be formed of one apart from the other. A man can convey an untruth by understatement as well as by misstatement: it is just as false, viewed from the point of view of the totality of that with which one is concerned, to present an inadequate and insufficient account of it, as to misstate and misinterpret it. *What* the Conciliar Decrees attempted to deal with is intimately a part of the question *How* they dealt with them.

Besides this principle, that we may not fairly judge of the terminology of the Decrees apart from the larger question (to which we shall shortly return) of their content, aim, method, and purpose, certain other observations may be made in regard to them, which might be set down as follows: we may not lose sight of the fact that the language of the Decrees was that of the day when they were formulated, on the abiding principle that our treasure is in earthen vessels. Giving this fact the fullest possible recognition, we must also recognize that the philosophical and theological idiom which controlled the expression of these statements was not dictated by a speculative but

by a practical interest,—that is, they were not primarily philosophical but religious and devotional. Furthermore, in the light of their history we can better regard the Decrees as points of departure than as terms beyond which Christian experience may not transgress,—that is, as essentially negative rather than positive in character, or as *termini a quibus* rather than *termini ad quos.*

A further general observation concerning the manifest object of the Decrees might be ascribed on the whole to all creedal formulations. It might be called the double function of summarizing past religious experience and mediating that experience for the future. The first epitome of belief partook of the character of a *résumé* of religious experience, which was at once an attempted rationalization of the belief illuminated by experience and an objective statement of that experienced conviction. The second phase takes place when such a statement becomes in a sense normative, and presents itself as the mediating principle by which others may attain to the like experience. As applied to the scientific life, Dr. Waggett has well stated what I am here touching upon, in these words: "There are two degrees of knowledge, namely, the knowledge that is *not yet* experience, and the knowledge which is *no longer* blind experience. . . . Something like this double movement from crisp knowledge to vague experience, and from experience to solid science can be traced in the course of a scientific student" (*Lumen Vitæ, pp.* 27-28). Historically speaking, experience was itself the means of realization of the Revelation of God. It holds a pre-eminent place as the medium by which we secure the data of Christianity. It is the experience of those who knew our Lord in the flesh, who bore witness to the facts about His life, teaching, death, resurrection, that constituted the first stratum of the data of the Christian tradition. It is the experience of subsequent generations of believers from which

is drawn both evidencing vindication and confirmatory re-application of the facts upon which the whole Christian tradition rests. In the last resort the testimony is that of experience; in the last resort, the whole evidence of experience rests upon fact.

We may not delude ourselves into a position where we minimize the essential importance of the fundamental factual and historical elements in Christianity. In the words of Santayana: "The great characteristic of Christianity inherited from Judaism was that its scheme was historical," and in another place: "The origin of Christian dogma lay in historic facts and in doctrines literally meant by their authors" (*Interpretations of Poetry and Religion,* 1905, pp. 90, 107). We may not safely sunder *fact* and *value,* for to do so is to posit an impassable gulf between the world within and the universe without which can never be bridged. To cut ourselves adrift from the anchorage of the objective and actual in the interests of the subjective and potential would mean the death of all honest thinking and the destruction of the essence of historic Christianity. May I be pardoned for making reference to the words of another famous man to whom Harvard men owe so much? In one of his letters William James has an apposite comment on the attitude of mind here referred to. He writes: "How fantastic a philosophy!—as if the 'world of values' *were* independent of existence. It is only as *being,* that one thing is better than another. The idea of darkness is as good as that of light, as ideas. There is more value in light's *being*" (*Letters,* vol. II., p. 123).

Not only do we, with due warrant, assert within the narrower limits alluded to above, that Christianity is an historic religion, but, in the broadest sense, would affirm the same of its whole course of development. To make this assertion postulates that Christianity is dynamic rather than static,—both progressive and conservative at the same

time; if it were not "progressive" it could have no "history," properly speaking, and if it were not "conservative," there would be no abiding principle of identity to be the subject of history. Our religion comes to us as a life and a belief, both of which aspects of its character or factors of its nature demand the historical perspective as well as the power of sympathetic insight, even to make them intelligible. To us in this day it comes freighted with the precious and rich experience of its corporate life throughout the centuries. The propagation of that living and vital stream demands that its continuance should be as broad and deep, to-day and for the future, as it has been in the past. To be to-day anything less than it has been in the past would be disastrous. Biologically speaking, the present generation must be an epitome of the past: to be true to his generic history the individual must be a recapitulation of the historic sweep of the species. The Pauline notion of the *ἀνακεφαλαίωσις* as developed by St. Irenaeus is a constant note of Christian history, in its application not only to our Lord but to ourselves as well. We may not be less than our forefathers and be their worthy descendants, as to our own religion, our grasp upon its meaning, and our exemplification of its power.

If one were attempting to state succinctly and broadly the guiding purpose of Conciliar definition, he might summarize it in some such words as the following: *The Councils were concerned with a reluctant definition of the Christian belief as against heresy.* It is well to keep in mind that traditional Christianity in the main has not been animated by a spirit of reckless and relentless definition. The exigencies of situations have demanded such definition from time to time, but the impulse to define never proceeded as by a *motu proprio.* Definitions were, so to speak, wrung from the Church by minatory and threatening circumstances. The history of the Conciliar period shows how

consistently *reluctant* the Church was in giving further formulation to her belief. One is commonly confronted in these days with an attitude of mind which would ascribe to every pronouncement of the Church a quality as of something "imposed" upon Christian piety, "shackles" bound upon the freedom of Christian interpretation, and "barriers" interposed between the free exercises of Christian liberty and the intellectual avenue of an approach to God. That this is a presupposition which guides to a large degree that type of scholarship which assumes in advance an adverse decision in estimating the value of the creeds and dogmatic affirmations, needs no demonstration. Nothing is more clear, for example, than the reluctance of orthodox churchmen at the Council of Nicæa. They were aware that the issue had been forced upon them. In many instances, they felt that they were manœuvred into a position where further definition and affirmative formulation was inevitable. When St. Athanasius says: "With reference to the faith, they wrote not of 'such and such they were determined,' but 'thus the Catholic Church believes.' And they added immediately the statement of their faith, to show that their judgment was not new but apostolic, and that what they wrote was not any discovery of theirs, but was what the apostles thought" (*De Synodis,* 5), the obvious reluctance and the temper of mind with which the Nicene definition was regarded is sufficiently apparent. It would seem that Bishop Gore's estimate is valid: "A dogmatic decision was for them certainly a regrettable necessity, only justifiable under extreme need" (*Belief in Christ,* p. 219).

Neither can we fairly regard such action of the Councils, viewed in the light either of the purpose which called them together or the results which they achieved, as *innovations.* It is a commonplace in the literature of the Conciliar period to find repeated again and again the assertion that it was the faith of the New Testament which the fathers were

defining. From their own standpoint they were aware of the necessity of affirming explicitly what they regarded as having always been held implicitly by Christian believers. From their point of view failure thus to bring out from the implicit to the explicit would have justified the accusation of perversion and innovation. They were conscious solely of the need of preserving unimpaired and intact the belief and practice that had been handed down from previous generations of Christians. But the awareness of the pressure of necessary definition or reaffirmation carries with it implicitly the recognition of at least two facts: (a) times and needs change (and with them the emphasis of Christian tradition), and (b) the Christian tradition itself undergoes development and growth. If both these conditions were not satisfied, there would be neither need nor warrant for further definition. So much we are justified in deducing from their professed purpose of introducing no innovations.

To a greater or less degree the fathers of the Councils were aware of the intimacy of the connection between belief and practice, of the nexus between faith and life. The instances in which certain of the ancient worthies of the Church were led off into speculation for its own sake are noteworthy exceptions which prove the rule. Ancient Christianity did not as a general thing set off into opposition the interdependent factors of faith and life, or of belief and practice. We would do well to recover in part their point of view, for a truer estimate of the facts of religious history give us no warrant whatever for this highly artificial and dangerous separation. In many ways, the fathers builded better than they knew. By their definitions and affirmations they are wrongly considered to have sterilized Christian thought in certain directions; what they actually did was to prevent in advance certain vast and subversive movements in life and practice which would

inevitably have resulted from the official recognition of theological opinions they disavowed. It is not altogether a futile task to speculate as to what might have happened had Arianism became dominant, or had any other of the early heresies been suffered to prevail unhindered in the life of Christianity.

The reluctance of the Church in defining her faith came particularly from the unwillingness to stigmatize heretical opinion as such. The usual definition of "heresy" leaves something to be desired, from the standpoint of the study of history. One gathers the impression that heresy involves innovation; that it proceeds from a desire to be up to date and in touch with new currents of thought; that it is fundamentally a self-willed *choosing* of certain elements in the traditional faith, to the exclusion of others. While there is much to be said for this estimate of heresy, there is another aspect of it which would seem to demand our attention. One of the phenomena which has accompanied the rise and growth of heretical opinions and movements has always been the note of appeal to antiquity. Cardinal Manning's aphorism has in it a certain element of truth. Heretics have often been of the "thus-far-and-no-farther" type of mind. They seem constitutionally to have been afflicted with the craving to appeal backwards. They have usually resented further definition, and have, for the most part, professed themselves as quite content to abide by the old formularies. Typical instances in the past may be illustrated from the opinions of Arius and Apollinaris. However much their contemporaries of the orthodox wing may have denounced these two figures as innovators, one may quite reasonably regard them as reactionaries. So far as concerns them both, they were perfectly content to accept the word of Holy Scripture as it stood; they were both alike annoyed by the proposal to exact from them profession of any further statements of belief. Nearly every heresy

has some sort of a spiritual ancestry. Nearly every appeal of an heretical nature has grounded itself in Holy Scripture and ancient precedent. This is not an adjunct to the phenomena, but is so universal as to be described as essential to the conception. In this sense, then, the heretics of the early Church were those men who refused to "keep up with the procession." They were, from this point of view, the conservative element. In every way they seem to have emphasized the static character of Christianity.

The underlying presupposition which guided the orthodox wing of the Church was that Christianity was dynamic. The very fundamental affirmation of Catholic Christianity is implied by its name; Catholic means universal. The history of heresy demonstrates beyond any cavil how insular, provincial, and limited in appeal and content heretical movements inevitably become. It may throw some light on the reluctance of traditionalism to indulge in definitions and formulations to keep this fact in mind. Practically all of the early heretical movements enshrined elements of truth and potency, as even their opponents, when they could become dispassionate enough to recognize the fact, themselves admitted. Not one of them had anything like the inclusiveness of appeal, or the comprehensiveness of doctrinal breadth, or universality of membership as had Catholic Christendom. This fact is so obvious that it ought not to need mention. One is again and again confronted, however, with so great a failure to recognize the obvious that he may be pardoned for here drawing attention to so outstanding a fact. It was the very reactionary element of heretical opinion which most provoked and challenged the orthodox tradition. Side by side with the earnest conviction of the continuity and identity of the Faith taught in traditional Christianity with that of the New Testament, went a corollary which affirmed a development or growth of that faith. It is no small service

that the great Roman theologian, Palmieri, has done for theological thought in indicating the prevalence and tenacity of this conception (cf. his *Il Progresso Dommatico, passim*). Perhaps the best early formulation of it will be found in the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lerins. The complete legitimacy of discovering novel terminology to convey, affirm, and protect the ancient faith rests entirely upon this dynamic conception of Christian thought.[1] In short, orthodox Christianity, acting true to its ideals, held strongly to the progressive as against the reactionary side, and made for growth and development, rather than for a static and mechanical view of religion. For the most part, the Catholic tradition and its embodiment in formularies and pronouncements was on the liberal and dynamic side, in contradistinction to the opposite heretical movements, which were largely guided by reactionary and static conceptions.

One further element in the type of thought condemned by Catholic Christendom might be worthy of notice—its logical and intellectualist character. The Christian tradition as a whole not only claims a universality of appeal and a comprehensiveness of inclusive power, but it purports competently to deal with the whole man. Any exclusiveness, whether intellectualist or separatist, is intrinsically in diametric opposition to the Catholic norm. It is precisely to the realm of the logical and rational that heretical movements in their inception were so largely confined. When a divorce between his reason and the other faculties of man's nature has once been set up by a too

[1] It is Vincent who compares the Faith to a germ, and to a child; it is he who wrote: *Eadem tamen quae didicisti doce, ut cum dicas nove, non dicas nova,* and further: *Sed forsitan dicit aliquis: 'Nullusne ergo in ecclesia Christi profectus habebitur religionis?' Habeatur plane, et maximus. Nam quis ille est tam invidus hominibus, tam exosus Deo, qui istud prohibere conetur? Sed ita tamen, ut vere profectus sit ille fidei, non permutatio* (*comm.*, 22, 23).

great deference paid to the rational faculty, and a tolerance of usurped authority on its part over all other categories and factors in the human religious life, there is the beginning of heretical opinion. A choice between two alternatives is offered to men of every generation: making of the Christian religion an eclectic philosophy, and suspending the speculative interests of a philosophic imperative for the sake of a wider inclusiveness of other elements, equally essential to man's life as a whole. The choice of heretical movements in the past has largely been dictated by the demands of the present philosophical necessity, and such movements have usually been marked by a surrender to it, and the exclusion of other fundamental matters. In the very terms of religion itself, one may see the necessity for a larger allowance than pure intellectualism, the exercise of the reason alone, and logical method may afford. By the very terms of the case, religion deals with God and His relations to His universe. By the very terms of the case, we can only know Him as He is revealed to us. By the very terms of the case, we must employ human language of Him, with all the limitations that the character of human language imposes, for, after all, human language is nothing other than a shorthand record of finite human experience. The whole terminology of religion must therefore be symbolic: sufficient and, perhaps, relatively adequate (so far as its inherent limitations allow) but never under any circumstances *exhaustive*. Relative finality can only be accorded to it if such language can be fairly regarded as the most adequate for the purpose. In short, whenever we use human terms in regard to God, by the very facts in the case, we are compelled to use an essentially inadequate medium. We are using phraseology which is inevitably limited in its application, and essentially inadequate, from the standpoint of the data with which it claims to deal. It is a psychological factor of enormous importance which

history would have us notice as operative in the case of heresy: a sense of the inadequacy of language seems to be noticeably lacking; the reverence of awe[1] and the consciousness of human limitations is often absent. Arius attempted to press human analogies into a realm which, on its own cognizance, transcended these limitations. In other words, he applied relentless human logic to symbolic language. He gained consistency at the price of throwing out important data. He may have been successful in reducing what appeared to him to be a chaos to the confines of a rational system, but his was the most drastic of procrustean methods. It would have reduced the content of the Christian religion to the cognizable and completely comprehensible. It would have foresworn and bankrupted future development, and sterilized completely the progress of spiritual adventure. Its reactionary tendency and its hampering and exclusive character were apparent to his opponents. Viewing this instance as typical, we may rightly say that the action of traditional Christianity was on the side of liberalism and breadth of view. It is the arc of a wider circle than that of heresy.

There is a further consideration which is pertinent. In the dynamic conception of Christianity, full allowance is made for the future as well as for the past. The present is not regarded as normative, and its verdict as necessarily final. On the hypothesis that Christianity is dynamic and progressive, rather than stationary and static, the present owes a duty no less to the future than to the past. The Catholic tradition has never regarded its decisions as final in the sense that they are incapable of further explication and development. It has been animated by the conviction that no single believer, no single generation of believers, no single type of mind, and no school of thinking can exhaustively deal with the full implications of its faith and

[1] Cf. R. Otto, *Das Heilige*, passim.

practice. A definition does not foreclose future development, but it embodies and epitomizes past development, and, as an historic phenomenon, it is ever aware of its past. As conceiving itself to be a vital and living entity, it takes for granted the necessity for growth and development. It regards its experience as in a degree normative, because it is alive. It would have the future begin where the present leaves off, and the present generation profit by the past. It has enshrined its experiences for future reference and made them available for future use. Its forethought is based on afterthought. Historically speaking, and biologically speaking, it claims the authority which derives from its vast scope of experience. Its inhibitions are really affirmations, for they are protective devices for preserving and sustaining life.

If we may not lightly put to one side salient elements and factors in the vast historic sweep of Christianity, which are at once the formulation of religious experience and the potential mediation of that experience, we are confronted with the obligation of interpretation and restatement. The task involves the presence of a comprehending and sympathetic spirit to the examination of the data, with the fullest realization that there is a problem to be met. (One hears occasionally expression of a point of view which would deal with the difficulty by the method of cutting the Gordian knot. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that of all methods this is the most inadequate.) This "spirit" which alone can make the facts alive to us is nothing less than the attainment in our own terms of that religious experience which brought these statements into being. (We may not discard until we understand; we cannot understand until we can instil the vital principle of comprehending sympathy, as Croce would have us see, into the chronicle of past religious history. We cannot exceed and overtake where we have not yet attained.) To be valid

in terms of the historic panorama of Christian experience a modern restatement must bear an adequate relation to a spiritual experience which shall be as inclusive and Catholic as that embodied in the Conciliar Decrees, must have exceeded these in the profound insight, deep grasp, and power of intimate knowledge, and, in a sense, have surpassed them in the breadth and depth of its spiritual penetration.

HOW FAR IS THE LANGUAGE OF THE CONCILIAR DECREES RELEVANT TO MODERN THOUGHT?

By Kirsopp Lake, D.D.

I AM proposing to present to you the question which is before you to-day in, I am afraid, a somewhat more technical form than Dr. Gavin has given it. I want to ask first of all what exactly was the doctrine of the Church with regard to the Councils: first, what was it in the Catholic Church, and second, what it is in the Protestant Churches, and then I am going to go on to ask a few questions and suggest a few possible alternatives with regard to the relevance and the validity, the two things not being quite the same, of either the Catholic or the Protestant position.

The Catholic doctrine on Councils is that a Council of the whole Church, represented by its bishops and presided over by the Pope as bishop of the Apostolic See, is infallible in its decisions regarding the Faith. To be valid according to modern Catholic doctrine it must be convened by the Pope and also ratified by the Pope, but though there has been, I think, never any serious discussion as to whether the ratification was necessary, there has been much in the past as to the right of convocation. The answer of most Catholic authorities after the Reformation, or even a little before it, was that the Pope must convene the Council, but against this theory, which, as I say, is not very ancient, is the fact that the first eight Councils seem

to have been convened by the Emperor, not by the Pope, and the best authorities, such as Leclercq, agree that the popular view was that the Emperor must convene the Council. For the curious in such matters reference may be made to Funk's essay in his *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*. It is perhaps a little sad for those who turn to General Councils to discover truth to reflect that in the absence, so likely to be permanent, of the Roman Emperor, no Council for the Church will ever be able to claim the same position as that, whatever it might be, of the Council of Nicæa.

That the Council of Nicæa was believed to possess the most plenary inspiration is attested by the evidence of Constantine himself, who called its decisions a divine command. Nor can they be regarded as prejudiced by any belief in the importance of the questions at issue, for he was so far ignorant of the truths put forward by Dr. Gavin that his description of the controversy was that it was the result of an improper answer to a question which ought never to have been put. Moreover, this view of Constantine was not based on the universal nature of the Council, but on the fact that it was composed of bishops. The judgment of bishops, he said, ought to be regarded as though the Lord himself were sitting there and giving judgment. Moreover, if the fact that Constantine was not yet baptized when he convened and presided over this Council might be regarded by some as reducing the value of his evidence, this objection cannot apply to Athanasius, who told the bishops of Africa that what God had promulgated at the Council of Nicæa was fixed eternally. Nor did the Council of Nicæa have any hesitating belief in its own infallibility. Constantine, I think, was voicing the opinion of the Council when he wrote in announcing its decisions that what seemed good to the holy bishops is none other than the opinion of the Son of God, especially seeing that the Holy Spirit

resting on the intellects of men of such greatness and eminence illumined the divine will. And this was not an innovation at the Council of Nicæa. Though it was the first General Council it had had less œcumenical predecessors, which were quite as clear in claiming divine authority for their decrees. Thus, for instance, Cyprian wrote to the Pope himself: "We decided at the instigation of the Holy Spirit." What was held to be true of Nicæa was affirmed later by other General Councils convened by other emperors, so that, for instance, Gregory the Great stated in his correspondence that he venerated the first four Councils as he did the four Gospels.

But the discussion of this point any further would be as tedious as unnecessary. What is important is also certain. There can be no doubt as to the Catholic doctrine. Unquestionably it regards the Church as divinely inspired, and General Councils are one of the ways in which the Church expresses its inspired opinion. Nor is there any doubt but that inspiration meant infallibility. There was sometimes doubt as to the number of ways by which the Church could speak, but that granted it was speaking, it was infallible, none ever disputed. There was, however, always, and this is, I venture to think, the most important point of all, an equally strong belief in the infallibility of Scripture. The ultimate proof of all doctrine was Scripture, and in some ways the Old Testament was even more important than the New. It would probably be a fair statement of Catholic doctrine from the first century to the present day to say that the Bible is the infallible revelation of God, and that the teaching of the Church is the infallible explanation of it, making clear what was implied in the written word and resolving of itself all difficulties of interpretation. This is what the Catholic Church means, and I think always has meant, by the living tradition, which is the Church. It was indeed on Scripture that the Church

always based its claims. Such passages as "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us," in Acts 15, and the promise in St. John of the Spirit which will lead the Church into all truth, were never forgotten. If the belief in Scripture be shaken, the title deeds of the Church, whether speaking by Pope, Council, or Congregation, and its claim to authority as such, have been annulled, for at no time has the Catholic Church ever been independent or claimed to be independent of Scripture.

In this respect it is no different from the Protestant Churches, all of which in the Reformation constantly affirmed the plenary authority of Scripture. The difference is that the Protestant Churches recognize no person or body of persons as infallible in their interpretation of Scripture, which must speak for itself, and some people are under the impression that it is easy to understand, but not, I think, those who have studied it most. The classical example of a typical Protestant statement of the doctrine concerning Councils is the twenty-first of the thirty-nine articles of my own Church.

"General Councils," it says, "may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes, and when they be gathered together, for as much as they be an assembly of men, where all be not moved with the spirit and word of God, they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God, wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture."

This statement has been omitted from the American prayer book, but I gather from the appended note that the objection was its recognition of princes rather than its rejection of Councils, and it may be fairly said that it would be as foreign to the nature of a Protestant Church to recognize the binding force of Councils as it would be to that of the Catholic Church to reject it.

Thus for the Protestant Church the opinion of Church councils, though possibly relevant, is not binding. For the Catholic Church, according to their historic doctrine, it is both relevant and binding. It cannot be ignored, however, that both in England and in America there has been for some years a loosely organized effort to reinstate general councils as infallible, and to ascribe to them an essentially different authority from that conceded to smaller assemblies of the Church. There may be, I think there is, some justification for this view in Catholic documents of the Conciliar period. I strongly suspect that it could be found in Gerson's *Concilium Generale* or in Du Pin's *De Conciliis;* but I have not looked, and I respectfully decline to look, into that sea of literature. Those who are interested can study Gerson if they have plenty of time.

However, I am very sure that in the first five centuries the source of authority was not sought in the general character of a Council but in the gift of the Holy Spirit attributed to the bishops as the leaders of the Church. The Council of Arles, which was not general, is spoken of as having just the same supernatural authority as the Council of Nicæa, and Cyprian has no doubt but that he and his coadjutors spóke with the power of the Holy Spirit.

Just as no respectable antiquity can be claimed for a doctrine which ascribes to General Councils an infallibility and an authority denied to smaller ones, or to individual prelates, so there is none for ascribing to them an authority which is denied to Scripture. Scripture has always been the basis of the decrees of Councils. The whole discussion at Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, or Chalcedon was one long wrangle about the meaning of Scripture. That the Bible was decisive, infallible, inspired, and beyond any possibility of correction by human discovery, was universally accepted. It was the common ground on which Arius and Athanasius, Nestorius and Cyril, Pelagius and Augustine

agreed to fight out their disputes. Nor did Calvin or Luther, Hooker or Laud, ever doubt this basis. It was not until the nineteenth century that Christians began to deny the infallibility of Scripture. Personally I think that they are quite right to deny it, but they cannot have it both ways. If Scripture be not infallible neither are Councils, which are built on Scripture.

Such, then, is the doctrine of the two great branches of the Christian Church with regard to Church Councils. The question arises how far is either of these positions relevant to modern ways of thinking. Relevant is a word which implies two factors. It is a question of relevant to what. If the Church be regarded (and there is much authority for the position) as a society which is entrusted with the preservation of some special way of thinking, it seems to me that the decisions of the Councils are relevant, and must be, for it is they which make up that form of thought and help to mould its expression. They represent the living tradition of the Church as it was in their generation, and if we give up their opinion we are giving up their tradition. In that sense, if that view be taken, the decisions of Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and I could say some others, are completely relevant, not only relevant but valid. For those to whom the Church depends upon continuity in the form of thought I cannot see that there is any more to be said.

On the other hand, if the Church be regarded as a society not for the preservation of thought but for the discovery of truth, the matter has a different aspect, for the decisions of Councils, like the decisions of any other body, cannot possibly affect the nature of truth. The Church Council can no more decide, apart from miracle, what is the nature of God than a congress can settle the nature of mathematical proof. You may remember that one state in the United States did some time ago decree what was

the ratio between the diameter of a circle and its circumference, but except for purposes which may be described as strictly local that law was never regarded as valid. I will go further, and argue that the decisions are really not only not valid if you take this view of the Church, but not even relevant to modern thought, because of the inherent differences between the theories on which the two things are based.

Both in Catholic and in Protestant theology the Bible is the inspired and infallible revelation of God. It is something given by God to man, not the discovery of man about God. The doctrinal decisions of the Council are based on that theory. For those who accept that view the decisions of the Church are valid if they take the Catholic view of the Church, and relevant if they take the Protestant. They are in my judgment neither valid nor relevant to those who reject the view of the Bible upon which the whole edifice of their theology was based, and it cannot be doubted that there are many in all Churches at the present time who do reject that view of the Bible. Therefore, that being so, and it is not my business this morning to argue that point, it cannot be doubted that the choice between these positions presents a serious problem to Churches which value history.

An easy method of escape is to take one horn of the dilemma and say that the Churches can retain as members only those who hold the old positions as to Biblical and ecclesiastical revelation. This identifies the Church with opinion because that opinion is revealed. It derives its sanction from revelation, not from discovery. An alternative is to say that modern Christian thought, like all other modern thought, depends on discovery. The Bible is one chapter, and only one chapter, in the history of the discovery of truth. It is not revelation in that case in the sense in which the Church fathers meant the word, and it is playing with

language to say that it is. Like all discovery, theological discovery is marked by a mixture of success and failure. Because modern chemists learned much from Faraday it does not follow that they must accept his opinions, many of which are no longer relevant to modern chemistry. Similarly we have learned much from the theological discoveries of the age of Nicæa, but it does not follow that we ought to accept their opinions, many of which are no longer relevant to modern theology.

An arguable case can, I think, be made out for each of these positions both ecclesiastically and historically. Each has the merit of being clear and intelligent. If I may venture a word of advice, based on history, not on passing expediency, I would say to those who are in a position to influence the choice between them: Do not try to force the Church to which you belong to make a premature decision, but, on the other hand, do not allow anyone to obscure the issue. The historian knows only too well that Churches, like other communities, have suffered far more in the past from premature decisions than from heated controversies. We can stand high temperatures if we have to. But there is a third position which endeavours to avoid the difficulties of choice, and that is that the old formulas of the Councils can be used protectively by reinterpreting them so as to change their meaning, to make them express what we think. To my mind, this is the way of death for all true knowledge.

HOW FAR IS THE LANGUAGE OF THE CONCILIAR DECREES RELEVANT TO MODERN THOUGHT?

By Henry Bradford Washburn, D.D., LL.D.

IT has been correctly brought to our minds this morning that we cannot look upon every portion of Scripture as infallible. It has even more correctly been brought to our minds that we cannot look upon any one of the Councils as having reached an infallible decision. But I wonder if there is not a third alternative. Just as we look at Scripture, the Old Testament and the New Testament, as an infinite source of primary—by "primary" I mean the most important and the most significant—religious experience, so may we not look upon the Councils of the Church as meetings which gather up the thinking and feeling of a certain period and express that thinking and feeling in such a way that we cannot afford to allow that experience to pass without studying it very carefully.

We have had some fun this morning with the preliminaries of the Council of Nicæa, and to a certain extent rightly. The Council of Nicæa was from a certain point of view even more of a dress rehearsal for the Councils of the Church than was the Council of Arles. But what was the Council of Nicæa? It was a gathering up into terms of philosophical religious statement that which had been increasingly on the hearts and minds of faithful people for many generations. I look upon the opinion of Athanasius not primarily as a theological statement, but as something

which he himself had lived out in his reaction on the person of Christ. He had been asked a question: "What think ye of Christ?" and he had said, "He is none other than essentially the living God." In other words, the Council does not gather together then and there to create thought or opinion. It comes together almost in spite of itself, as one of the speakers has already said, to declare that which is fundamentally believed. But you remember, too, that that Council was merely a preliminary to the Second, Third, and Fourth Councils, and when we come to the Council of Chalcedon and find that a letter from the west could express the majority feeling of the united Church, what have we but the Fourth General Council as an expression of fundamental conviction and not by any means as a meeting which was to come together and define for the faithful that which possibly they did not believe?

There were limitations, of course, in all of these Councils, infinite limitations in many of them. We know that Constantine himself, who highly respected the First General Council while it was in session, shortly afterwards repudiated it in his private life and died a first-rate Arian. We know that there are those limitations on the Councils, but after all isn't there also a boundless source of life which we cannot afford to go without in our studies? Therefore I would say, in asking this question, "In how far are the Councils consonant, so to speak, with modern thought?" and in a measure trying to answer it, they are consonant to this extent: That without the results reached by those Councils, and I mean not only the first four, but practically all, including those of Romanism, without the results of those Councils you and I would be vastly poorer than we otherwise would be if we want to understand the fullness of the experience of Christendom.

HOW FAR IS THE LANGUAGE OF THE CONCILIAR DECREES RELEVANT TO MODERN THOUGHT?

By Philo W. Sprague

MY excuse for standing here and saying a word this morning is that I feel hungry. I came here hungry. I came here, at great difficulty to myself, because I expected to be fed with some definite information on some things that have been troubling me. But I have had set before me the most exquisite linen and the most exquisite china; but I have not yet received the food, even to the simple bread, which I came here to ask for. We have had the most splendid presentations with reference to some historical questions, with reference to the Councils, as to what the Councils were, how they came into being, and what the position of the Protestant and of the Roman Catholic Churches is with reference to the Councils; but we have not had any answer at all to the question which these gentlemen were set to answer, which is: How far is the language of the Conciliar Decrees relevant to modern thought? That is what I came here to have answered.

I wanted information, for example, on this point. Here is a word which is used in the Councils, "Only-begotten of the Father." That is a word used in the Nicene Creed. It is a word that is very dear to all of us. The question is whether that is relevant to our modern thought or not. If so, we ought to have it more distinctly taught and definitely put before our congregations than it is. To me that ex-

pression is irrelevant to our modern thought. It does not apply and does not bring with it any rich, full meaning to people who have inherited our modern thought.

I take another word, the word "person." We all know, of course, what the Greek word was that was translated "person," and how it came to be used. The question is, when we use it to-day, is it a relevant word, with our idea of personality and our idea of the word "person" that lies back of personality, to say there are Three Persons in the Blessed Trinity? I ask any thoughtful man here if those words are relevant to our modern thought and our modern way of looking at personality.

I take one other word, which is a word of the language of the Conciliar Decrees, and that is the word "substance," ὁμοούσιος. Oh, how many times I have had that Greek iota there in my vision of the blessed work of the Church of God in putting that word into the mind of St. Athanasius! And I agree with that. It is perfectly splendid. But what does that word "substance" mean now? When we have come to know what we do and to have set before us the almost unimaginable glories of that which lies back of all things, what can we say to-day with reference to the meaning of the old word "substance"? When we say that Jesus Christ is of the same substance with the Father, what on earth does it mean? What on earth does it mean?

I came here, gentlemen, to get some information on those questions, which it seems to me are the questions suggested by the topic before us this morning: How far is the language of the Conciliar Decrees relevant to modern thought?

I have another word, and that is with reference to the splendid point which was made—I think it was made by both of the speakers—with reference to the necessity of constant reinterpretation of the language and the thought of the past. I want to get a new meaning into the minds of people everywhere as to the greatness of the word "Catholic." We use

it in such a contemptibly narrow sense. Take the old Vincentian rule: *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus.* That is the foundation of Catholicity. What year is this? 1924. Is this 2024? Is this 5024? Look back a thousand years and see how the thought of Christendom has grown from 1024 to 1924. *"Quod ubique."* There was no England known to amount to anything as contributing to the thought of the world when that word *"ubique"* was used. Shall we eliminate, can we possibly eliminate, all that England and Germany have given to the thought of the world by cutting that out? *"Quod ab omnibus."* Have all the men of thought and greatness, that are going to bless our world yet, lived and thought and taught? No. Let us have a larger view of Catholicity.

HOW FAR IS THE LANGUAGE OF THE CONCILIAR DECREES RELEVANT TO MODERN THOUGHT?

By George Cadwalader Foley, D.D.

I DON'T want to answer the question in the title of our subject to-day, but I should like to make two remarks which may be considered as prolegomena to any answer. One is this: that the language of the Councils was modernist language. It was an attempt on the part of men who were saturated with the ideas of the Platonic philosophy to interpret Christianity in the language of that philosophy. Dr. Bellows, who was (I think) a Unitarian of New York City a generation or two ago, said he regarded "homoöusion" as the greatest triumph of Christian thought in all the ages. Now the point is this: if it was worth doing, and they thought it was worth doing, it was a modernist effort, and it sanctions any effort on our part to-day to interpret Christianity in our language; and then it becomes incumbent upon us to say whether their language is relevant to our mode of discussion. The simple fact is this, however: that we are out of touch with the terminology of that ancient philosophy, and we are out of touch with any feeling of necessity to accommodate ourselves to it.

And here I would like to call your attention to one matter which might relieve the gentleman who has just made an address. He was worried about the word "substance." That word is a Latin word. I would like to call your attention to the fact that whenever the Latins attempted to trans-

late Greek ideas they made a mess of it almost always. Bishop Gore tells us frankly that the words "person" and "substance" are inadequate, and then he winds up his paragraph and says that these are the words which we must continue to use. But I ask, Why? Augustine in the fifth century called attention to the absolute impropriety of such a word as "persona," and the equal impropriety of such a word as "substantia"; and he asked, when Cicero had given us a perfectly good word, "essentia," why we should use this misleading word "substantia." I would suggest this: that we ought not to follow the Latin attempt to interpret Greek Conciliar phraseology, because it leads us unqualifiedly into error. The great advantage of retaining the Greek phraseology is that almost nobody knows what it means.

The question as to the relevancy of the language of the Councils involves, as both of the writers indicated, the question as to the authority of a Council. One of the strongest Anglo-Catholics in our American Church, Henry R. Percival, wrote a volume on the Seven Œcumenical Councils; and he called attention to the fact that an Œcumenical Council is one whose decisions have been subsequently endorsed by the whole Church. That is to say, there is no authority whatever in the Council or in its decision; the authority is in the Christian consciousness, and the evidence of that is this: The Nicene Council did not settle anything for the following fifty years. There was bitter controversy, and in less than twenty years more than half of the bishops of the Christian Church were Arian, so that we have the phrase: *Athanasius contra mundum.* It did not settle anything. The Christian consciousness is the thing that decides the matter; and in determining the relevancy of that ancient language to our modern thought we have got to bear in mind that the Christian consciousness of to-day is quite as capable of being possessed of the guiding Spirit as the consciousness of the fourth century.

CLOSING OF THE DISCUSSION

Professor GAVIN. I am afraid my paper was extraordinarily obscure. I did not mean it to be so. What I was trying to drive at in the very baldest and briefest form was this: Leaving all questions to one side as to what paper authority or official and external validity these particular decrees might have over us, they still are an abiding witness to a continuity of spiritual experience. There it is. So far as the relevancy of the language is concerned, granted the necessity for reinterpretation, you cannot reinterpret until you understand, and you cannot understand until you study, but you cannot study those things and make any sense of them until in you there is reproducible that background of spiritual experience which begat those formulas which begin those definitions of which they are the record. Then, given that, quite readily and quite freely there must be a necessary reinterpretation in relevant language to our day. I should say that is the kernel of what I was driving at.

My idea of these Conciliar Decrees is that they are two things: a record of spiritual experience and a kind of perpetuation of means whereby that experience may be remade, may be reproduced, in subsequent generations. There they are. Now, then, their authority is that of the consensus of Christian conviction. That is their great authority, and that is their present authority and their present validity for us to-day. And I must confess that I found myself in extraordinary agreement particularly with Dean Washburn just a few minutes ago, and I think if I could have written a little more lucidly and brought my points out somewhat more clearly, it would not have failed altogether of getting these particular things home which I should say are my summary of my own view and the chief argument of my paper.

Professor LAKE. I stopped a moment or two before I

had intended to do so in my original paper. I only lost about four lines, in which I was going to say that I regard with apprehension the kind of treatment which has been so ably put before you to-day by Dean Washburn and Dr. Gavin, because it seems to me that it does obscure the facts, though it gives them a certain sentimental value.

I entirely agree with the second speaker, I think it was Dr. Sprague, in his statement that "only-begotten," "person," and "substance" are words which are not relevant any longer to our modern thought, and I am confirmed in that opinion by many years of examining those who are going to be ministers, and an almost unbroken record of failure in discovering any of them who are able to explain what those words did mean historically.

Dean Washburn said that Athanasius stood for the conviction that Jesus was the living God. It seems to me you might as well say that the integral calculus stands for the statement that two and two are four. No doubt it does, but if that had been all, Arius would not have had any objection to accepting the Council of Nicæa. What Arius stood against, and what Athanasius stood for, was the extremely difficult and subtle statement that the Logos is *ὁμοούσιος* with the Father, and those of you who fully understand what that means can see how important it was that he should stand for it. That Jesus was the living God was not really denied, so far as I understand history, by any of the opponents of Athanasius. Athanasius sometimes suggested that they did, but remember, we have only with very small exceptions the controversial statements made by the Athanasian party about their opponents. The little that we have which comes from their side does not support the view that they would have denied that statement, and it does not seem to me to be quite borne out by the fact that it was the Arians rather than the Athanasians who were the great missionaries of the fourth century.

Dr. Gavin says that the Councils are a witness to the unbroken spiritual experience. That I thoroughly accept as true. That is true. But what he omits is that they are also a witness to the fact that the intellectual experience is broken. They represent two things, spiritual experience and intellectual expression. What we have to do is to express the spiritual experience in our own language, and recognize that the intellectual expression which they chose belongs to their generation and not to ours. We can, if we are specialists, with great difficulty understand what it means,—with great difficulty. It is not relevant to modern thought. What the Church needs to-day is not an attempt to make the decrees of the Councils or the statement of Athanasius reduce themselves to generalities which we can accept, but an attempt to express the spiritual life of the Church in our own language with the same clearness and decision with which they expressed it in the language of their time; but their language is not relevant for our generation.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST IN THE THOUGHT OF TO-DAY

§ 3

THE CREEDS

THE PERSON OF CHRIST IN THE THOUGHT OF TO-DAY: THE CREEDS

By Angus Dun

THE name of Christ stands at the centre of all our creeds. It is not strange. Christ is the most precious possession of Christianity, the only completely new thing in Christianity. He is for Christians the permanent focus of faith. It is natural, therefore, that these central expressions of faith in Christ should be the most sensitive points in the creeds. They are the points where the nerve of Christian sentiment is most exposed, where pain and fright follow most certainly on investigation and dissection. Let us handle them, then, with the utmost gentleness (and love) though not without candour.

The first point to make clear is that Christ comes before the Christian creeds. Faith in Christ precedes the utterance, and especially the careful formulation of that faith. If we think that some correct affirmation about Christ must precede the saving experience of Christ, it is because we commonly become familiar with the phraseology of faith before we have been taken possession of by Christ Himself. But we know that the realities are otherwise. Christianity did not begin with a formula expressing what Christ means to Christians and might mean to all men. It started with Christ, and quickly men sought language in which to express what Christ meant to them.

We must try to go behind all formulas and say what Christ has meant to Christians, what the living experience

is that has found utterance in the great affirmations of faith in Him. A flood of words and synonyms comes to us when we seek to say what men have found in Christ,—*peace,* the blessedness of the quiet heart; *liberation* from fear and from the bondage of evil powers within us and without us; *security* in the face of life's hazards, the moral hazards of temptation, the ultimate and inevitable hazard of death; *reconciliation* with our fellows; *communion* with that mystery which is at the heart of things, the most real and most unrealizable, with God; reconciliation with that Holy Companion whose glory from time to time lights up our darkness, whose purity condemns our uncleanness; *life* more abundant, more free and joyous, eternal. These are among the things that men have found in Christ, and finding these in Him they have given Him the name of Saviour. For to gain these is what men mean by salvation, and the bringer of these is Saviour.

It was so in the beginning. The companions of Jesus found in His presence among them peace, power, guidance, confidence, reconciliation with one another, awareness of the nearness of God. In Him they heard the voice of the Eternal speaking their own language. As they entered more deeply into the appreciation of Him, particularly after His leaving them, when they came to possess more completely the spiritual presence and power which He bequeathed, they were assured that He was indeed the Redeemer of Israel, the bringer of salvation to God's people. And the distinguishing mark of Christianity in all its variety has been that it finds redemption in Christ. It is the religion that lives by the faith that in obedience to Christ, in surrender to Christ, in trusting response to Christ, men's souls achieve their destiny and their peace.

What is the relation between this heart's trust in Christ as Redeemer and those creeds in which Christians have expressed that faith? We may take as examples of the latter

those elementary confessions reflected in the New Testament, "I believe that Jesus is the Messiah," "I believe that Jesus is Lord," and those more developed formulas which are contained within our two creeds.

The several interests that have been at work in the creation of these formulas of faith may be gathered up under the three words *uttering, sharing, sifting.* First of all men seek words in which to utter their faith. None of man's deeper experiences or convictions complete themselves until they find utterance. In putting our deepest experiences, whether of beauty or sorrow or sin or holiness, into words or other external form, we first achieve full possession of them. And the faith of Christians in Christ has found itself by uttering itself.

Secondly, as a motive at work in formulating the expressions of faith has been the interest in sharing. The redeemed man must share his faith, must bring others to the possession of what he possesses. Men who have found their soul's peace in Christ must say to others and share with others what He has meant to them. They must give Him a name, whether it be Christ, Messiah, Lord, a title indicative of His place and power in their religious life. They must say that to do such a work for them, He must be the Son of God or Very God of Very God. In these titles and phrases men have sought to carry over to other minds what He means to them, and the society of Christians has sought to gather up what He means to the fellowship of believers.

A final interest that has shaped and maintained the formulas expressing faith in Christ has been the interest in sifting the faithful from the faithless. Probably the formulas were in the first instance the form of words in which the new convert to Christ made definite to himself and the Christian Community his new allegiance. They came in time to be legal tests applied to sift the eligible from the ineligible, the assumption being that those who are really "with us"

will be prepared among other things to make these specific assertions about Christ.

But how can words utter or share or sift so deep and total an attitude of life as faith? Certainly we should all be quick to agree that the faith by which men are saved, the faith which we must share if we are to carry true religion over into other lives, the faith which constitutes ground for membership in the fellowship of Christians is a deeper thing than any brief form of words can necessarily carry with it. But it is hardly less clear that under certain conditions brief forms of words have carried this true faith with them tolerably well. When Peter at Cæsarea made that confession which is so climactic in the Gospel of St. Mark and which has laid such hold upon Christian imagination, "Thou art the Christ," what relation did that ascription of a title bear to the interior and transforming attitude we call faith? It uttered Peter's faith. It shared Peter's faith. In some real measure it sifted or tested Peter's faith. It did all these because of the vast religious connotations which that key word "Christ" or "Messiah" carried with it. For to Peter and to those present the Messiah was the main personal focus of religious aspiration. He was the hoped-for One who would be the bringer of redemption in terms of Jewish expectation (and aspiration). He would bring God's peace and God's righteousness and God's power to Israel. In identifying Jesus as the Christ Peter opened within himself the barrier between the magnetic, attractive, drawing forces in the person of His Master, Jesus, and the stored-up energies of religious aspiration pressing out towards the longed-for Messiah, so that the two united, and the faith of Peter the Jew in the Messiah came to an intense focus in Jesus of Nazareth, each element strengthening and defining the other. Nothing could reveal more fully the religious sufficiency and finality that he found in Jesus the Christ.

It is in some such way as this that formulas or brief

affirmations have served to utter or share or sift faith. They have done it by serving as a key word or key phrase, representative of profound intuitions and unlocking the larger energies of the heart and will. They have done it as passwords, speaking for the larger loyalties to which they bear witness.

But the effectiveness of any particular formula as an utterance or sifter of faith depends in very large measure on the religious and historical context in which it is used. To the first Jewish Christians the confession, "Jesus is the Messiah," served very adequately to express their new faith and to distinguish them from other Jews. But when Christianity passed over into the Gentile world that elementary creed of the first Jewish Christians lost a large part of the context that gave it meaning and a cutting edge. The Gentiles had no hope of a Messiah. They might learn from Jewish Christians the correct formula, "Jesus is the Messiah." They might come to apprehend something of what "Messiah" stood for in a world view foreign to their own. They might even come to have sacred religious associations with the word as being a title properly belonging to One in and through whom redemption had been experienced by them also. But it could not be in any sense a spontaneous confession on their part, something with native rallying power, a slogan and a watchword. It would be at best something that would need explaining. No better indication of this fact can be found than the fact that the great title, "Christ," came so quickly to be hardly more than a proper name, quite without a special significance, and as such finds its place in our creeds. But if Messiah had little meaning for Gentile Christians there was a word that had much, the word "Lord." That word gathered up much of the meaning of religion for them. In the redemptive cults which served as the background for what religion meant to them, the "Lord" was the mediator of salvation, the divine being by sacramental

communion with whom men were lifted up out of corruption and change into contact with the incorruptible and eternal Divine. So that for Gentile Christians the confession, "Jesus is the Lord," was a true confession of their faith in Christ as redeemer. This confession was to them the cue to the deeper attitude of faith, the term in which they could utter to their fellows the religious meaning of Christ to them, and the password to distinguish those who had saving faith in Christ from those who had not.

To apply this principle to the Apostles' Creed is much more difficult because it is so much more complex a confession of faith and because it is hard to reconstruct with assurance the associations within which it was formulated. Yet it bears the marks of the historical context within which it first became an effective expression of Christian faith, as plainly as those great titles Christ or Lord carry their own associations with them. That old Roman creed which was the ancestor of our Apostles' Creed served to utter and share and sift the faith of Christians in the latter half of the second century because it was directly related to "live" issues in their day. This might be illustrated throughout the Creed, but we shall confine ourselves to the second section beginning with the words, "And in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord," "I believe in Jesus Christ." That is an expression of faith in Christ, of heart's trust, of confidence in His power to save. And there follow the titles and historical recollections selected from all those then used and known to describe and bear witness to Him in whom they have faith. He is Lord. That carries with it the associations of Saviour and Sovereign Master. He is the only Son of the Almighty God, uniquely akin to the Maker and Ruler of all. And then follows that group of historical clauses, describing and qualifying the one in whom faith is expressed. He was born, suffered, crucified, dead, buried, rose again, ascended. Are these the qualifying clauses which for all Christians at all

times serve best to utter or share their faith in Christ, to summon that faith into action, to single out the key words representative of all that He is to them? Think of clauses that might have been included to describe this Christ in whom men believe: who was born in lowly estate, "who showed us the Father," "who went about doing good," "who loved us unto the end," "who died for our salvation," "who overcame sin and death," "who will be with us unto the end." I am not trying to write a creed, but to illustrate a point. It is frequently said that the Apostles' Creed presents us with the bare data for belief in Christ. But there are no facts in the life of Christ or no facts regarding what Christ has been to men and done for men that are not data for what we may believe concerning Him. The point is that the Christians of the second century selected from all the available data these particular phrases to include in their brief formula which was to utter and sift the faith of Christians. And those phrases served that purpose well in the first instance because they were related to a living issue in the religious and historical context. The reality of Christ's historical life was definitely challenged and denied by a strong group of contemporaries. And Christian faith in Christ rising up to meet that opposition spontaneously stressed the reality of Christ's birth, suffering, death and burial, and found satisfaction in so doing.

The application of this principle to our so-called Nicene Creed is a simpler matter, because the issue influential in shaping its structure and content is much plainer to us. Why was it that the Christian bishops of the fourth century, in framing the formula by which they should sift the faith of their fellow bishops, chose that phrase "of one substance with the Father," the most distinctive mark of that creed? Is it a phrase particularly and permanently expressive of trust and surrender and complete obedience, the spontaneous witness of the Christian to Christ as a redeeming power

in his life, as the bringer of peace to his soul? Would you select it as the great password whose utterance would serve to sift those who had apprehended the religious power and meaning of Christ from those who had not? In any case, it served these purposes tolerably well in the fourth century. It did so because of the context in which it stood. All parties within the Church were agreed that the Christ in whom they had faith was the manifestation, the outward action, the Word of God. They were agreed, too, that God is one thing, one substance, and man another. But was the manifestation that of very God? Was the thing, the substance that God is, really present in the manifestation? Faced with that question in those terms those who had found in Christ true communion with God could not do otherwise than assert that He was of the same substance as the Father. And in that context that phrase could serve as a satisfying utterance of faith in Christ, as a revealing index of what Christ meant to Christians.

The position we have reached is this: In various historical and religious contexts certain intellectual assertions serve adequately as expressions of true and saving faith in Christ and even as sifters of the faithful, because in their proper environment they are key words which represent the religious intuitions and the deep volitional and emotional attitude we call faith and are normally accompanied by it. But in each case the specific context serves as a background which gives decisive meaning and position to the several formulas of faith. In the context of the Jewish religious thought and aspiration of the first century, which was the immediate environment of the earliest Christianity, Jesus was either the Messiah, or He was only a good man or another of the prophets. Only the ascription to Him of the Messianic position could do justice to the unique and sovereign position which He achieved in the religious life of the first Jewish Christians. In the context supplied by the cults of the Gen-

tile world, to confess Jesus as Lord was to confess him as mediator of salvation in the only terms available. If He was not Lord He was nothing of any striking or unique religious significance. In the context of the Greek Christian theological world Christ was either of one essence with the Father or He was a second hand, unauthentic entrance of the divine into our life, inadequate to account for the salvation Christians had found through Him. Within each context the willingness to accept the formula was a fairly accurate index as to whether Christ had taken religious possession of the life.

But these formulas for the utterance and sifting of faith fail in large measure to serve their purpose when the context is radically altered. To present a Jew with the question as to whether Christ was or was not of one essence with God would have been as fruitless as to present a Gentile with the question as to whether he would confess Jesus to be the Messiah. When creeds are removed from their native environment they prove inadequate most clearly as a medium for transmitting or sharing faith. They are least successful as missionary slogans. We need no ancient illustrations at this point. To go to our unevangelized American neighbours with the slogan, "Christ is of one substance with the Father," or to go to a group of semi-pagan American college boys, whose background is modern philosophy, modern science, and modern social aspiration, with the slogan, "Jesus is the Messiah," would be to take them two mysteries instead of one, and to seek to express the unknown by the unknown.

The creeds serve somewhat more successfully as mediums by which to utter faith and even to sift faith. The principal reason for this is that any creed through which a great body of people express, however inadequately, a genuine religious faith gathers around itself all the associations of faith. New members of that religious community brought into contact with that worshipping company of faithful people acquire from them the body of beliefs and the fundamental attitudes

bound up with their confession of faith even though the language means little to them initially. Creeds used repeatedly in worship gain the most precious religious associations, especially when the worship is contagiously real. Thus for us who have come into sympathetic contact with New Testament Christianity the confession, "Jesus is the Christ," may well stir sympathetic chords, even though the special connotations of Messiahship are largely absent. But the terms are not native to us. They are attached to faith by association rather than expressive of the discriminating issue in our religious allegiance.

It is not true that these early expressions of faith mean nothing to us. While we live in a different world than the Christians of the first or fourth or sixteenth centuries, we also live in the same world. And, not only that, but we inherit in varying degrees the language and the terms of thought of those times. Some of us are sufficiently Judaized so that we can enter with some reality into the meaning and atmosphere of the Messianic hope. Some of us may be sufficiently immersed in the language, issues and basic concepts of the Greek Christian theological world so that we can live through their experience in their terms and make their religious slogans ours. But for most this is a very partial process at best.

The question may well be asked: Are there not permanent issues gathered up in the great phrasings of the Faith? Has the Church never settled anything permanently in her wrestlings with the meaning of Christ to Christians? Have all her intellectual battles been nothing but local engagements with no decisive and continuing significance? Is there nothing constant except an emotional and volitional attitude you call faith? Is there nothing permanently and objectively true about Christ, that we can lay hold of and translate into every tongue? These questions are all proper and wholesome questions. It is true that there were permanent issues gath-

ered up in the great phrasings of faith in Christ. But the permanent issues and meanings lie deeper than the particular historical phrasing in which they found expression. There is permanent truth and value in the identification of Jesus with the Messiah, but that can not be made to involve the permanence of all that Messiahship connoted to early Jewish Christians. There is permanent truth and value in the reiterated insistence of the Apostles' Creed on the historicity and bodily reality of Christ's life among us. But that can not be unquestioningly identified with the literal historicity of every incident which the second century Christians selected from the Apostolic tradition to drive home that fact. There is permanent truth and value in the Nicene insistence that the Holy manifested to us in Christ is one with the supreme source of all Holiness, but that can not establish the everlasting authority of the particular philosophy of religion in terms of which that religious conviction was expressed.

The practical question is not whether the great classical formulations of faith in Christ contained within our creeds enshrine permanent truths and values, but whether they serve effectively to utter or share or sift faith in Christ in our day. I think we must face the fact that they serve these purposes only with very partial success. This does not mean that genuine faith is not uttered through them. The faith of multitudes is genuinely expressed through them. Many have taken over sufficient of the connotations of the creedal language so that their world of thought is freely expressed in creedal terms throughout. For many more, while it is not the case that every clause of the creeds calls up tangible and precious meanings, nevertheless all the associations of sincere worship gather around the creeds in their entirety and the saying of them summons faith into self-consciousness. But however true that may be, for increasing numbers there are clauses where the mind goes blank as the words are repeated, where many honest but non-

reflective minds feel a vague uneasiness, where the more youthful and more ambitious minds revolt, where the more middle-aged and indolent minds surrender the effort to think their situation through, and where the more docile minds recognize sacred mystery, and worship where they cannot understand.

Under these circumstances it cannot be said that it is the creeds that unite us or the creeds that we primarily share. There are at least certain public indications that it is the creeds that divide us. The creeds are a great symbol of our unity with one another and of our continuity with the ancient Church that created them. As such they are precious, so precious, perhaps, that we should accept greater strains before surrendering them. But the basis for our unity and for our continuity lies deeper than the creeds. Our common love of Christ, our common sense of dependence on Christ, our common will for the sovereignty of Christ, our common acknowledgment that whatever we are or possess in things pertaining to God is the fruit of the saving work of Christ, it is these that unite us. And it is these that supply the real basis for the continuity of Christianity. Otherwise it would never have survived such great transitions as that from the Jewish world to the Greek Gentile world, a transition involving such radical changes in terminology and thought-forms that some have been inclined to say that it was one religion before that translation and another after it.

Under these conditions we can hardly say that the creeds serve very effectively to sift faith in Christ. When any form of words has ceased to express directly and simply the heart of men's faith in Christ, when it is burdened with phrases and connotations inherited from other worlds of thought than those in which men live and think their daily lives, the willingness to say these words or the unwillingness to say them may mean many things besides faith or faithlessness in their deepest religious sense. The willingness to say

them may indicate verbal and formal conservatism or antiquarian sentiment, or it may indicate true faith, simple and uninstructed or most thoroughly instructed. The unwillingness to say them may indicate a crude and self-indulgent naturalism, a self-sufficient humanitarianism, or a passion for simple integrity in religious expression gained by deep and trusting communion with the Spirit of Christ.

Suppose that there was presented to the avowed and nominal Christians of our time as a partial expression of their faith in Christ, the formula, "I believe that Christ is the rightful Lord over all our relationships." There would be a test expression which because of the special issues and dominant interests of our time would cut down near to the centre, and serve as a rallying word to those whose faith in Christ is a thing that summons the whole will into action and puts Him above houses and lands and family vanities and national vanities. Here again I am not making suggestions to the Prayer Book Commission, but seeking to illustrate a point. The creed that will satisfy the deepest purposes of a creed is one which the great body of Christians can recognize as a true and direct expression of their faith, the saying of which spontaneously gives definition to their faith and kindles the heart of the believer. It must be a form of words which expresses the great and simple things which all Christians share, the sincere saying of which clearly connotes the surrender and consecration of a life. The achievement of such a Christian password may well appear a hopeless quest amid all the conflicting welter of human opinion and the bewildering alterations of time. For these contexts that we have spoken of so frequently exist not only in the succession of the years, but side by side in this year of grace. What statement could we frame that could be said in hearty unison by Mr. Bryan, Cardinal O'Connell, and Dr. Fosdick?

And yet, may it not be that if we were simple enough,

childlike enough, Christlike enough, this thing impossible with men might prove possible with God? If we were willing to put Christ Himself in the centre, unadorned save by His own majestic simplicity, and trust Him to make His own connections with the changing contexts of human history, if we were willing in our common utterance of what He means to us to keep very close, as He did, to the simplest terms of common human experience, might we not succeed, or rather He succeed with us?

In the meantime our task is to bind whatever creeds we use so close to our hearts that even in a foreign tongue our neighbours may catch the accents of faith and hope and love, and be aroused to faith, if not persuaded to conformity. And among ourselves our task is to practise that most arduous discipline of love whereby we go out of the world in which we live and enter with reverence and understanding into the world in which our brother lives, taking Christ with us and finding Christ there.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST IN THE THOUGHT OF TO-DAY: THE CREEDS

By Marshall Bowyer Stewart

FROM the very start of the Christian mission, it was necessary, when people were to be baptized in the Name of the Lord, to have some sort of statement who this Lord was, if only for purposes of identification. And it would seem that if people were to accept Him as in any religious sense "Lord," such acceptance would be voiced by the convert at his initiation. So we find the Apostles' Creed developing as the baptismal creed of the West, not word for word as we have it now until the eighth century, but in regard to the Person of Christ substantially as we have it now in the second half of the second century at any rate.

Another interest led to the emphasis on the "Rule of Faith" in that same period, the time of Irenæus, Tertullian, Victor and Polycrates, and Origen. This was not so much the interest of securing that an initiate should make his act of faith in the right Person, as of securing that all the Church should have the same religion. Belief was certainly regarded as an element of religion, and substantial unity of belief was thought to be an element in unity of religion. It seemed to Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen that the only hope for unity lay in the permanence of the apostolic Rule of Faith, summing up the apostolic experience of Christ, which, like all events that have happened, can never be

changed. Differences of belief of course arose, as they will arise about anything that is at all interesting, and development of belief also went on, while the Rule of Faith was supposed to remain essentially the same. The Arian controversy of the fourth century was the crucial time for the testing of divergent beliefs by the Rule of Faith; and the question was, is this or that belief consistent with the apostolic experience—does it fit in with the existing Christian religion?

The situation was one in which there was general agreement that Christ is divine, in some high sense, and preexistent to some great extent. The divine Christ was generally spoken of theologically as Logos and Son; He was believed to be incarnate as Jesus. The older Adoptianism, according to which Jesus (who had no pre-human existence) was *elevated* to divinity—man became God, not God became man—was not advocated in the Arian controversy. Modalism, according to which Christ is so completely God that he is identified with the Father, as a *phase* of the Father's work in the world, had been ruled out by the Church, but was still formidable enough to make Arius "view with alarm" Athanasius' advocacy of the Homoöusion. In the Arian controversy, nobody wanted to be an out-and-out adoptianist or modalist.

But the Arians stood for a *modified adoptianism,* a sort of "high" adoptianism. Christ existed as Logos or Son long before His human birth, and hence that birth was a real incarnation of a spiritual being already living; but this preincarnate Christ was a *creature* of God; because of His sublime work in the incarnate life He was *adopted* into Godhead.

The Athanasians might perhaps be accused of a *modified modalism:* at least they were not so aghast at what they had in common with Sabellianism as they would have been at agreement with Adoptianism, and the fact remains that they

employed a word that had well-known Sabellian associations —ὁμοούσιον.

It would seem further that both sides were professedly agreed on the transcendent infinity of God (the Jewish idea of God and the early Gentile idea of God had been exalted and universalized into the theologians' idea of God). The Arians insisted that there is only one God, and that a derived being, originating later, could not be included in the absolute divine essence (though adopted into a share in the divine life). The Athanasians likewise insisted that there is only one divinity, and that no being of later origin can be included in the absolute divine essence. If the Logos then *is* divine, he is included in the absolute divine essence, but in that case he is not a being of later origin than the Father. Perhaps it would be fair to say that both believed the Logos to be in some sense a *derived divine Person:* there is of course a tension between *derived* and *divine*. The Arians started with the *derived,* and held that strictly; so they used *divine* in less than the full sense of infinite. The Athanasians started with the *divine,* and held that strictly; so they used *derived* in less than the full sense of later and created.

As between these rivals, neither of which was scrupulously consistent, the appeal was really to *religion*—the religion of redemption of man by the communicating to man of the divine nature: in Christ we find very Godhead coming to us and into us and raising us to a share in the divine life. This was the great interest of Athanasius all through; and the Church's possession of the same interest is shown in its final acceptance of the Athanasianisms of the Nicene Creed. The Rule of Faith finds its very heart in the apostolic experience that we have been and are redeemed by communion with Christ: only communion with *God* can redeem: therefore communion with Christ *is* communion with God. Thus after long conflict the Church accepted a traditional creed proposed by Eusebius of Cæsarea, augmented and sharpened

so as to repudiate Arianism and maintain the full co-essential Deity of Jesus Christ.

Now the Nicene Creed stands somewhere in time between the earthly life of our Lord and the present—i.e., between the supreme experience of the Christian revelation and ourselves to whom that experience is mediated. Can it still serve as a medium summarizing (so far as belief is concerned) the Gospel of Jesus Christ in such wise that we moderns in believing it may be confident that we have hold of the basic truths of that Gospel?

It preserves the summary given in the Apostles' Creed, that is (so far as the Person of Christ is concerned) scarcely more than a summary of the *data,* the cardinal events of Christ's life, upon which any belief in Him must be based: it reminds us that any Christological belief that is false to the events of the Gospel kicks over the ladder by which it has climbed. But the Apostles' Creed is not very interpretative of the events of the Gospel. It gives the human name of our Lord, Jesus. It interprets Him as the Messiah, i.e., the representative and agent of God in the salvation of God's people. In relation to God, it declares Christ to be God's "only Son," i.e., I suppose, derived from the Father's nature (and the *only* Son, as against the Gnostics). In relation to man, it calls Him "our Lord," i.e., I suppose, one who has for us the value of the object of our religion. The Nicene Creed keeps the summary of the Gospel events, but answers to the demand for further interpretation of "Christ, his only Son, our Lord."

"One Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God; begotten of his Father before all worlds," true God begotten of true God, light begotten of light, but "not made," not a creature; "being of one substance with the Father." The human life and character and work of our Lord are apprehended by Christians as of such supreme value that if there is a good God at all to be found in human experience, He is

pre-eminently found in that humanity of Jesus. If anything in the known world is good enough to be thought of as God's very own, the humanity of Jesus is God's very own humanity. It remains humanity just the same—we must not kick over the Gospel by which we reach our belief in Christ's divinity—but in closest conceivable union with this humanity is the divine nature: otherwise it could not be so perfect *humanly* as it was felt to be; otherwise Jesus could not so naturally have become the object of religion to His disciples, and so greatly have *sufficed* as object of their religion; otherwise it would not have seemed to them that they could pray to God *through* that human Jesus and find that they were praying *to* Him. At any rate, whether or not this was the way in which Christians came to acknowledge Him as "having divinity" besides His obvious humanity, and whether or not they were right in so acknowledging Him, the Nicene Creed does voice the Christian belief that the same Jesus who was born, suffered, and died is *also* God. This is, I think, a very great merit of the Nicene Creed, that it teaches the deity of Christ *not* as a substitute for His humanity, not as a sort of corrective against it, not as erasing or in any way diminishing the complete humanness of that humanity; but still professing belief in the human nature with all its necessary limitations, it teaches the Deity as *over and above, other than,* the humanity which was the source of the whole belief. Certainly the Creed does not say all this in so many words; but it does set forth the great human experiences of Christ, and also, without minimizing them, it sets forth His Deity without minimizing it. It does not muddle the divine with the human, but unites them in the one Person of Christ.

Then we come to the original storm-centre of the Creed—"being of one substance with the Father," i.e., of the same essence as the Father. The Creed in Greek does not say "substance," but uses the larger, vaguer, more adaptable

word "essence" (though St. Athanasius used the Greek word for substance as meaning the same as the word for essence). The "essence" of any being meant to most of the fourth century Fathers the totality of all that which it is (Harnack, History of Dogma IV 36). Surely the use of this word does not tie us up to some specialized "outworn substance-philosophy." A philosophy might hold that the essence of God is *matter;* another might hold that it is *spirit;* another that it is a unifying principle pervading all things; another that it is an *ideal one.* The Nicene Creed simply says that *whatever* the essence of God may be, it is the same in Christ as it is in the Father. Or in other words, the essence of God is the same *wherever* you find it. If there is divinity in any sort of connection with any sort of person, that divinity is the *same divinity* there as anywhere, and the divinity of *anybody* that may be said to "have divinity" is ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί. The Creed is here simply preserving the consistency of the idea of God. If God *is,* he must have a being, an essence, a *what-he-is*—he must be *somewhat:* and when we call anyone divine, we want to mean the *same* somewhat, for whomever we use the word.

But then what about Christ's being the *Son, not* the same, in some sense, as the Father? Are the Modalists right after all? It would seem that if we have gotten to the point of saying that Christ is *God* (as well as man), and God is the *same,* always and everywhere, then we shall have to say that Christ as God is simply the same as the Father. But this conclusion would be reached at the expense of kicking over the ladder we came up by. We came up to a belief in the Deity of Christ from the experience of the human life of Jesus. Well, one constant element in the human life of Jesus is that He *spoke to* the Father, and spoke *of* the Father, as another Person. And if, in believing in His Deity, we throw over the experience of Jesus' personal relations with the Father as another Person, we are throwing over the

Gospel experience, which is the only reason for our believing in his Deity at all. The religion of Jesus—that expression may be used to include the two great contrasting elements in the apostolic experience of Him, if we use the genitive as both objective and subjective genitive: the Apostles found in Jesus an *object* of religion and also a *subject* of religion; religion was their attitude to Him, and religion was His attitude to the Father. Religion was their attitude to Him: this experience is "codified" in the Nicene Creed in the "homoöusion" and all that is there said to the effect that Christ is God. Religion was His attitude to the Father: this experience is codified in the Nicene Creed in the "only-begotten Son of God" and other expressions of the difference of Person between the Father and the Son. Thus the Nicene Creed is true to the Apostles' experience of Christ.

Is it the sort of thing that we can find thinkable now? It means, I think, briefly and essentially this: that some such relation as was between Jesus and the Father—the Father-and-Son relation—is rooted in the Eternal Principle of things, is characteristic of the divine nature. Such a relation on earth, a personal social relation in which there is a sharing of all things, a sharing of all property, and properties, a sharing of all life, so far as it can be experienced among us mortals, is about the best thing we can possibly think of. And it is good religion and good theology to attribute the best things we can possibly think of to God the perfectly *good.* Love is rooted in the Godhead—*some such* thing as we experience as love here, only raised to the infinite power.

"God of God begotten, not made": the Deity and the Sonship or derivedness are both there. In the expression itself, there is a tang as of epigram; perhaps a little of the joy of forcible phrase-making entered into its composition. There was a good deal of that in the theology of the period. And it is perhaps this condensed, paradoxical, dogmatic forcibleness that alienates many people to-day. It is certain

that many are angered by the fierce form of a dogma who would not be deeply troubled if the same dogma were put in a suave, flowing style, with many words and long sentences. It may be, however, that the terse, forthright word is needed to make people notice that anything in particular is being said. Again, the expression is ancient. A recent popularizing book on the question "Can I be a Christian?" encourages the serious inquirer to forego inquiry into the meaning of "God of God," because it represents a fourth-century controversy which we need not bother to understand now. I hope we may agree here that whatever may be said of the formula as an ancient paradox, it sums up the steady Christian belief that Christ (besides being human) is in the full sense God, and the Son of God. I do not see that it says anything more, that it contains any obscure, temporary, local, queer meaning in addition to that. And I do not see how it could say less and claim to be true to the New Testament's revelation of Christian experience.

On the general function of creeds I have said practically nothing, but have tried to show that their language on the Person of Christ is translatable into modern enough language, because the *basic* ideas are essentially not peculiar to one age, but common enough to be thought and believed in any age. The creeds summarize a vital portion of the *belief* of our religion. I grant that belief is only a *part* of true religion, that emotion and volition are indispensable to it. But I am of those who are convinced that "religion means to be *true*," and that religious emotions and volitions are characteristically attitudes towards an object that is believed to be real. We adjust our emotions (or try to) to supposed facts, attach value to fact, rather than adjusting facts to our emotions or values. The creeds state beliefs—they do not purport to express our other religious attitudes. And I do not see much satisfaction in adjusting our creeds (beliefs) to our emotional attitudes: it seems to me that the adjust-

ment should logically be of emotion to belief. St. Athanasius' appeal to religion (redemption) was, I feel sure, an appeal not simply to his own feeling of being redeemed, but largely to the religion of redemption as a fact of experience from the Incarnation on to his own time. Why should any particular attitude to Christ be perpetuated? Does it not come back in the end to belief that Christ *is* such and such a Being? There appears to be a rather deep-seated difference in philosophy here, and of course there are some philosophies which if believed will mean an entirely different attitude to the creeds from that most common to Christians: perhaps pragmatism or behaviourism, or something of the sort will serve as instances. I think the attitude of the Christianity which is a fact of history is, that our having saving relations with Christ is dependent (not solely, of course, but dependent just the same) on our believing something about what He *is*.

THE CREEDS

By Lucian Waterman Rogers

I CAME here this morning because the subject was "The Creeds" and because I had hoped to get a little light upon what seems to me to be the most conspicuous creedal stumblingblock in these days. I had hoped that somebody would say something upon the subject of creedal miracles and upon the subject of the relevance of those creedal miracles to the belief in the Incarnation in this present year of grace. "The question of miracle," says Dean Inge, "is a scientific and not a religious question, and has no bearing on the divinity of Christ." And I had hoped that one of the approaches to the creed might be made from that angle, because that is the angle and the approach that is troubling people to-day pre-eminently, it seems to me.

When I was in college, thirty-five years ago, one of the professors used to give us a course on Mondays on "The Evidences of Revealed Religion." His basic proposition was: "Miracles are the credentials of divinity." And he gave this very striking illustration: "A man comes into my study and says, 'I have come from God, and God has intrusted me with a message to deliver to you.' I say to him, 'What is your name?' He says, 'Jones.' I say to him, 'All right, Mr. Jones, very good; go ahead and perform your miracle.' Jones says, 'What do you mean?' 'Well,' I say, 'I don't like to seem to reflect on your veracity, but how am I to know that you have come from God and that God has intrusted you with a message to deliver to me? Go ahead and perform your miracle, and then I will know that the

situation is as you say. The miracle gives authority to your message.' "

That happened, as I say, thirty-five years ago, and I suppose to-day in that same college such teaching would be laughed out of the classroom. To-day we incline to think that holiness is the credential of divinity, and that miracle as a credential is beside the thought. The question is, granting the miracle to be authentic, will you accept a miracle as a credential of divinity? Or, on the other hand, will you say that miracle is a scientific clinic—it is a demonstration of the power of mind over matter on which the last word has not been said, and has no bearing on divinity whatsoever? Or put it this way: I can imagine a crowd of seventeenth century people staring at a flying aeroplane and saying, "That phenomenon is a miracle because it contradicts the laws of nature." And I can imagine an individual standing among these and saying as one born out of season, "That phenomenon is not a miracle, because it is in perfect harmony with the laws of nature, and some day the knowledge and application of those laws will be the common property of all of us." And still the aeroplane continues flying, a strictly scientific demonstration, with no more bearing on divinity than has trigonometry or calculus. Because, for instance, somebody is able to walk on the sea while I can only sink beneath it, does not reveal, I submit to you, that he is any more divine than I am. I submit that it reveals nothing whatsoever upon the subject of his divinity.

"The question of miracle," says Dean Inge, "is a scientific, not a religious question, and has no bearing on divinity at all."

Now, I had hoped,—everybody knows the Dean's loyalty to the Incarnation and to our Lord and Saviour as God, —I had hoped that somebody would approach this question of the creed from this only angle that seems to me as timely to what we like to call "the man in the street."

THE CREEDS

By Jeffrey R. Brackett, Ph.D.

THE one excuse for my being here, sir, is the presumptuous thought that I may represent the average layman on the street. Perhaps that is presumptuous. I may say a few things here that show that I am not learned in Scripture. If so, I am looking to my fathers in God to correct me at the proper time.

One of the speakers used the expression, if I caught him right, that at a certain stage in the development of the Church the fathers entered into the theological stage—if that was the right expression. Now the common remark that I hear from "the man on the street" is that he is not interested in theology. I am not, therefore, a representative man on the street. I am intensely interested in theology. But somehow it is not always the theology that I hear that strikes me as the theology of the right kind.

Now, I am an unlearned man. I heard the speaker this morning, if I understood him rightly, say these words: That Jesus was and is in the full sense God, besides being the derived Son. If I am right in my scriptural remembrances, He said at one time, "No man hath seen God at any time." Now the man on the street, I believe, wants more preaching of theology that helps to clear our mind on these very, very puzzling things. And if that theology is put in the same way that good actors put their acting, so we forget that they are actors and say, "Why, that is life; that is not Edwin Booth, that is Hamlet"—that is what the man on the street wants.

And I believe the man on the street will take theology and lots of it when it is put in very simple terms. I think the clergy are trying to do that. I am not finding fault with them. I am only pleading with them to do it more and to drive theology of the right kind into our heads.

One other illustration that bothers me: We are told that we are to ask for things in the name of our Lord. The Lord's Prayer did not end by the name of our Lord—the very prayer that he gave us, that we repeat more than any other. It is that kind of thing that we want explained and talked over with us in the same way.

One other word on the creeds, and that is, freedom of interpretation. Mr. Chairman, I am the man on the street; I do not understand "freedom of interpretation." Does it mean that every man is to say what he thinks—I mean, is to think in his own mind that what he says is what he means and we do not know what he means? Is that freedom of interpretation? Or does it mean that the Church councils and gatherings authoritatively are to tell us what the clergy mean when they lead us in certain words? I want to know that. I read in the ordination service those glorious words that a clergyman is to teach only what he is convinced "may be concluded and proved by the Scripture." But there is something else in the ordination service with which I could never be in harmony; there is something said about the doctrines and teachings of the Church. I am sorry I cannot remember the exact words. That is what troubled me and that is the reason I did not become a clergyman. If I was sure that only that part of the ordination vow had been asked of me, that I should say only those things that I was convinced were right, I should have joined the clergy a great many years ago and probably failed in getting over the right theology.

THE CREEDS

By Homer W. Starr, Ph.D.

AS I have listened to the speakers for these several days of our Church Congress and have heard what seemed to me and what I am sure must have seemed to some others rather laboured efforts to explain away the miracles, particularly in connection with the reported instances in which our Lord is said to have raised the dead to life again, it has certainly seemed somewhat strange to me that Christian disciples to-day should find it necessary to try to accept or find any other solution or suggestion, rational explanation, of that which even the bitterest enemies of our Lord Himself at the time seemed forced to admit. Remember that it was following that resurrection of Lazarus from the dead that the bitterest enemies of our Lord said, "That indeed a notable miracle hath been wrought, none can deny." And it was following that, of course, that the scribes and Pharisees said one to another, "Perceive ye how ye prevail nothing? behold, the world is gone after Him."

It has always seemed to me that the Church through the ages has really given us in her sacramental system a key to the right understanding of that problem of the relation of spirit to matter which lifts the whole problem of miracles out of a question of mere possibility or credulity really to a question of the degree of the perfectness or the completeness of our knowledge of the invisible forces of the world and of the laws by which they work, as the preceding speaker has just intimated. We certainly find ourselves living in a world

in which spirit is most marvellously interpenetrating matter and energizing matter and moulding matter, and expressing itself through matter. And it seems to me that the sacramental idea of the Church through the ages gives us the key to the answer to this problem. I shall never forget, I think, the words of the noted Serbian bishop who, some years ago when in this country, delivering one of his addresses, spoke of the "mysteries," as he called them, of the Christian faith. And he said in the course of that address that our religion, being what it is, must of necessity contain within it something of the mystical element that lies beyond our powers of understanding, and certainly beyond the powers of adequate expression in human speech. And so, he said, the necessity of the sacraments. And by way of illustration he said: "A mother's kiss, for instance, can convey and does convey to her child a message and a meaning which are utterly beyond the power of human words to convey." And then he added, "In His sacraments God kisses the world." And it seems to me that that statement is not only beautiful but profoundly true. If there is any fresh light that has come to us from science in these days, it is, it seems to me, in the world of physics, the science of physics, the electron theory, whereby our old ideas of the atom are swept away, the atom now being disintegrated into this highly complicated system of electrons in larger or smaller number, but each maintaining definite relations to the other electrons within the atom and all speeding, we are told, like a miniature solar system with a speed quite beyond our possibility of comprehension or understanding. I confess that there is a tax upon my intellectual power and my ability to understand involved in that scientific conception far beyond the tax put upon them by the creedal statement of our Lord's being born of the Virgin Mary or of His true resurrection from the dead. But at any rate it seems to me to suggest there that there is a point at which the spiritual so interpenetrates the material

that the whole question of the miraculous is raised to a highly spiritual plane.

CLOSING OF THE DISCUSSION

Professor DUN. I think I shall not need to use my three minutes, because the cutting I did was throughout, and therefore I could not reproduce it. But my main point that I might reiterate after hearing the fine address of Professor Stewart is this: That I believe thoroughly that the Creeds can be defended and that they can be translated, but I think that a thing which needs such careful translation as that does not serve particularly well as the expression and utterance of faith in worship—in the worship of plain Christians, and that that need for some effortful translation is just the difficulty under which we are labouring. That really is my main point. That is, I think the creeds have that in them which is worth translating, and I think I am in sympathy with what they meant to the people who phrased them; but I feel very strongly that the constant need for translation out of terms which are really not familiar to us or likely to become familiar to us into terms more familiar to us is the thing which makes them particularly inadequate as the regular expressions of the faith of Christians, drawing them together and bearing witness of their common faith before the world.

Professor STEWART. I quite agree that that is a big difficulty, that the Creeds need translation. Of course one man cannot think the same thing twice and two different people cannot possibly think the same thing at any time, if you mean exactly the same content of consciousness. It cannot be in two different people, and it cannot be in the same person twice. So, of course, if that is to be taken as negativing any unity in belief, why, we do not believe alike

at all. I have been using all along the thought that substantially and practically we do agree with ourselves from hour to hour more or less, and we do agree with one another at the same time more or less, substantially—essentially. I know those words are elastic. I do not want—I fidget very much at the thought that I am trying to make things mean what we want them to mean; but I think substantially they can be held still—the things that were believed in the beginning of the Christian religion can be believed substantially now, but never, of course, literally. Translation—it is a pity; I feel the need of that very much. "Being of one substance with the Father"—I feel that it is an awful thing to have to juggle your mind through, that is, for ordinary folk who are not particularly familiar with it. But the difficulty is, I suppose, to get any official, or perhaps it would be better to say unanimously acceptable thing, that would be a translation of it. If we could get that, then we could, of course, use it instead of the Nicene Creed, though retaining that in the substrata of our religion.

The Church never repeals anything. I think that is of the very essence of the Church, that the Church never repeals what it has wholly committed itself to in dogma at any time. It adds, it develops, but it does not repeal. But if we had some way of getting any universally acceptable translation of the Faith, why, I think it would be a tremendously fine thing. But in the meantime I do not see what we can do but go ahead with limited, local, experimental, tentative translations. And we do that of course; every time we instruct a confirmation class we cannot simply hand out the Nicene Creed or any other. You have got to say, "It means this, I think," and of course you make mistakes. I do not think I have avoided making mistakes as I have tried to do it here to-day.

PART II

CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE

§ 1

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

By Milo Hudson Gates, D.D.

SOME years ago there was published in this City a popular and rather widely read magazine devoted to propagating the doctrine of free love. After having a considerable vogue, it was given up, because the editor found that all his time and strength were needed to develop the Oneida Free Love Community, of which he was the founder. The loss of this interesting magazine need not, however, be unduly mourned. The mantle of the magazine edited by the prophet, Noyes, after having lain untouched upon the ground for a number of years, seems to have been rescued from its oblivion, and at the present time it decorates the shoulders of an equally popular and well-known magazine, named after a neighbouring ocean.

These introductory remarks are not intended entirely to be humourous. Within the past year, four articles have appeared in the aforesaid monthly, upon the general subject of Marriage and Divorce. The conclusion which the present speaker, as a reader, has arrived at, is quite accurately stated in the preceding sentences, concerning the wearing of the mantle of the founder of the Oneida Community, though we are far from prophesying that the present editor will consider it necessary to follow out completely the example of Mr. Noyes, who founded the Free Love Community. As a matter of fact, if the doctrine enunciated already in this periodical should be generally accepted, it

would be entirely unnecessary to found a community, for the reason that the whole nation would become such a community.

I ask you to spend a few sad and depressing moments in which to consider the doctrine recently taught here. I ask this because these articles are symptoms. In some ways, they seem more tragic symptoms of the danger and disgrace of American divorce than the statistics of the same, for these articles must be taken in conjunction with a considerable body of literature, which devotes itself to the glorification of divorce. There comes to mind a recent novel, haloed as a "best seller." In this book, there is the story of the lives of five married couples. Two of them were just commonly and honestly faithful to each other. Three of the couples got one, two, and three divorces respectively, and there is no comparison between the good fortune of the three diversely divorced couples, and the two who were honest and faithful. Life was pictured as one sweetly poetic, transcendentally sentimental song for the divorcees, and the music of the song set in a triumphantly major key. Quite the contrary for the others. Minors, and the notes of a dirge were theirs.

When literature thus glorifies divorce, and pictures divorcees as the only really adventurous and enterprising souls, we have reached the danger line.

The minute you begin to make heroes and heroines of divorced people, that minute you have, of course, made divorce a very popular and desirable thing. For that reason, we said that this was a tragic symptom.

Perhaps the Reverend Miss A. Maude Roydon's article may be taken as representative. Her paper is quite frank: "I urge, therefore, that divorce should be granted when marriage has in fact ceased. It should not be granted because any one or all of a schedule of offences has been committed, but because the marriage is no longer real. I have no desire to extend the list of causes for divorce. I believe that

to do this—though it would be better than no reform at all —would leave us still in the quagmire of legal fictions, perjury, and 'collusion,' which makes proceedings for divorce a joke to the indecent and a horror to the decent-minded. . . . My point is that the whole method of 'obtaining freedom from an intolerable burden' is a mistaken one. A marriage *should be declared legally dissolved* when it has *actually ceased to be a real marriage;* it should not be regarded as real by a legal fiction, when it is not real. Attempts to pretend that that is real which is not real will always result in attempts to prove that offences have taken place, which have not taken place, because the system itself is based on a refusal to recognize the truth. . . ." This theory of marriage is precisely the theory of the Oneida Community—only instead of being the law of a small community, it would be the law of the whole world. It is also the theory of the jungle.

I am now going to assume that though presently we may disagree, really we agree on one thing, and that is the necessity of divorce reform in the United States, and I hope everyone here is familiar with, and an advocate of the reform to the marriage laws, and with the resolution recently presented to Congress, which is as follows: "The Congress may define and limit the causes for divorce from the bonds of matrimony, and the conditions under which applications therefor may be granted. Divorces obtained in compliance with the requirements of the Congress shall be valid everywhere. But no divorce shall be granted in any State, except under and as authorized by its laws, which may permit or prohibit divorces for any and all the causes therefor defined by the Congress."

(In this resolution no power is given to Congress over marriage.) A third resolution was offered in the House in 1921 by Judge Codd, member from Ohio, which reads as follows: "The Congress shall have power to establish uni-

form laws on the subjects of marriage, and divorce from the bonds of matrimony throughout the United States."

It may be asked why such a vital matter as marriage and divorce should not have been included in the Constitution from the beginning. The reason is found in the fact that the wholesome traditions inherited by the early colonists made divorce to be almost unknown among them. Our newspapers tell a vastly different story to-day. Nevertheless, few persons realize either the extent or the rapidity of growth of the cancer that is eating into our family, social, and national life. To many it is mere matter of joke and laughter. To some, it is even a sign of "progress" and "liberty." Others sigh and do nothing, but thoughtful people all over the land are at length waking up to the fact that it is not enough to lament. Conditions are already too serious to allow of indifference or inaction.

Here are some of the facts which show the enormous changes that have taken place since 1788. It is not until 1876 that we get any authoritative information in regard to divorce in the United States. The following table shows the increase for 50 years, in ten year periods, ending December 31, 1916.

Ten	years	ending	Dec.	31,	1876.....	122,121
"	"	"	"	"	1886.....	206,595
"	"	"	"	"	1896.....	352,263
"	"	"	"	"	1906.....	593,362
"	"	"	"	"	1916.....	975,728
Total divorces in fifty years.....						2,250,069

(Report from Census Bureau for 1919, p. 11. During the nine years beginning January 1907, no provision was made by Congress for the work, the tenth year being the only one cared for. For these nine years, we are dependent on estimates based on the statement of the Bureau that the increase was 30 per cent every five years.)

The most alarming feature of this table is the rapid increase in proportion to the population. This fact is clearly set forth on p. 12 of the report; in 1870 the ratio of divorces per 100,000 of the population was 28; in 1880 was 39; in 1890 was 53; in 1900 was 73; in 1906 was 84; and in 1916 was 112, or exactly four times what it was in 1870. This condition has a remarkable illustration and contrast in what we see across the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. In 1916, while the United States had 112,036 divorces, Canada had only 57. In other words, allowing for the difference in population, we had 120 divorces to every one beyond our northern boundary among a people in every material respect, except legislation, similar to our own.[1]

There are, at the present time, fifty-two separate and different causes for which divorce is granted in the United States, and with but a few exceptions, after a divorce is granted for one of these causes in one State, after a period, it becomes valid in other States. I will read some of these causes.

1. Crime against nature before marriage.
2. Reasonable apprehension of violence (to wife).
3. Conviction of felony.
4. Conviction of felony before marriage, and unknown to other.
5. Neglect to provide.
6. Wilful absence for one year.
7. Wilful neglect for one year.
8. Habitual violent temper.
9. Permanent insanity or lunacy after marriage (only four States, Pennsylvania one of them).
10. Intolerable indignities.
11. Abandonment for one year.
12. Concealment of loathsome disease before marriage.

[1] *Bulletin on Marriage and Divorce.* Walker Gwynne.

13. Uniting with religious society which forbids marriage.
14. Settled aversion for six months.
15. Insupportable excess.
16. Public defamation.
17. Abandonment after three months' summons to return.
18. Vagrancy.
19. Any gross neglect of duty.
20. Intemperance one year.
21. Intolerable severity.
22. Any cause deemed by the court to be sufficient.

It will instantly be seen that no one, with the necessary money, need ever fail to get a divorce somewhere in the United States, under some of these causes.

According to the latest official report of the U. S. Census Bureau (pp. 39-47) the ratio of divorces to marriage in the year 1916 reached its height, as might be expected, in the State of Nevada, which had one divorce to every 1.54 marriages. The next highest are Oregon, one to 2.51; Washington, one to 4.01; Idaho, one to 4.81; Wyoming, one to 5.37; Oklahoma, one to 5.42; Montana, one to 5.46; California, one to 5.56; Arizona, one to 5.92; Indiana, one to 5.94. The lowest of the 47 States granting divorces are New Jersey, one divorce to every 26.66 marriages; New York, one to 29.81; North Carolina, one to 31.94. South Carolina grants no divorces, and therefore has no record. The ratio for the District of Columbia was one divorce to every 91.34 marriages. The ratio for the United States was one divorce to every 9.28 marriages.

There can hardly be a ripple of disagreement that such a state of things needs reform. All this, however, applies to the State, and what I suppose the Church Congress wishes mostly to consider is the position of the Church. Here, we

instantly approach the boundaries of the territory of disagreement. This paper is frankly for the absolute indissolubility of marriage, against the permission of remarriage to divorced persons,—for any cause whatsoever,—and for the doctrine that Holy Matrimony is a sacrament. The doctrine we enunciate is well set forth in the principles of the Association of the Sanctity of Marriage. The following are the principles of the Association:

1. Complete loyalty to the teaching of our Lord, as witnessed by Holy Scripture and the universal voice of the Primitive Church, testifying to the indissoluble character of the marriage bond, "till death."
2. Allowance of legal separation for sufficient and weighty cause, but with no right to remarriage for either innocent or guilty party.
3. Allowance of annulment for cause preceding marriage, as in the case of sexual impotence, imbecility, fraud, etc.
4. The duty of studying these principles, and making them and their reasons known in private and in public, and by the use of the press, so far as opportunity admits.

Of course, this doctrine depends upon the acceptance of certain facts. The first fact is that the Church was founded by Jesus Christ, our Blessed Lord and Saviour. The second fact is that He was absolutely divine. The third fact is that, being absolutely divine, He was absolutely infallible. The fourth fact is that they who belong to the Church, must accept as infallible the precepts and laws which He has given. We can either accept, or decline to accept these facts. We cannot argue about them. St. Mark tells us: "There came unto Him Pharisees and asked Him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? tempting Him. And He answered and said unto them, What did Moses command

you? And they said, Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and put her away. But Jesus said unto them, For your hardness of heart he wrote you this commandment. But from the beginning of the creation male and female made He them. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave unto his wife; and the twain shall become one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together, let no man put asunder. And in the house the disciples asked Him again of this matter. And He saith unto them, Whosoever shall put away his wife and marry another, committeth adultery against her; and if she herself shall put away her husband, and marry another, she committeth adultery." (x. 2-12, Revised Version here and elsewhere.)

St. Luke's testimony is exactly to the same effect: "Every one that putteth away his wife, and marrieth another, committeth adultery, and he that marrieth her that is put away from a husband committeth adultery." (xvi. 18.)

Our Lord's language concerning remarriage as given by St. Matthew is equally stern and unmistakable. It occurs in the Sermon on the Mount, and is as follows: "It was said also, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement, but I say unto you, that everyone that putteth away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress; and whosoever shall marry her when she is put away, committeth adultery." (v. 31, 32.)

In a later passage, St. Matthew describes the same event which we found in St. Mark (x. 1-12). Here again we have the same strong words as to God's law of marriage; "From the beginning of the creation"; "The twain become one flesh"; and "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder." Here also as in the Sermon on the Mount, Christ says, "Whosoever shall put away his wife, except for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery" (xix. 1-12). Thus St. Matthew differs only from St. Mark and St. Luke in this single exception. In all other

respects, and in the sternness and unqualified character of His condemnation of remarriage, they are perfectly agreed. The important question therefore is, What does the exception mean?

In dealing with this question, it is constantly overlooked that, while the chief thought in the minds of Christ's tempters is concerning "putting away" or divorce, the thought in His mind, and on His lips, is the unlawfulness of marriage with or by a divorced person. He makes no distinction between innocent and guilty in this respect. It is remarriage and not divorce which He emphasizes in every one of His utterances. "The words of all three Evangelists," wrote Mr. Gladstone, in 1857, "condemn remarriage of the divorced woman, and condemn it universally, in terms which grammatically admit of no other construction." (London Quarterly Review.)

To the same effect Bishop Gore writes: "So serious an exception (on the assumption that it allows remarriage) must have been expressed," and not left to inference (The Question of Divorce, p. 23). In other words, if our Lord had intended to allow remarriage of either innocent or guilty, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. Paul would not have left the Gentile Christians, for whom they especially wrote, to be ignorant of this fact, while the Hebrew Christians, for whom St. Matthew wrote, were informed of it.

This brings us face to face with what seems to be the unchristian exception in the law of the Church. Our law says:

> No minister, knowingly after due inquiry, shall solemnize the marriage of any person who has been or is the husband or the wife of any other person then living, from whom he or she has been divorced for any cause arising after marriage. But this Canon shall not be held to apply to the innocent party in a divorce for adultery; Provided, that before the application for such remarriage a period of not less than one year shall have elapsed, after

the granting of such a divorce, and that satisfactory evidence touching the facts in the case, including a copy of the Court's Decree, and Record, if practicable, with proof that the defendant was personally served or appeared in the action, be laid before the Ecclesiastical Authority, and such Ecclesiastical Authority, having taken legal advice thereon, shall have declared in writing that in his judgment the case of the applicant conforms to the requirements of this Canon; and Provided, further, that it shall be within the discretion of any Minister to decline to solemnize any marriage.

We now come to the insuperable difficulty of obeying and interpreting our own law. An exception is made, or may be made, in the case of the innocent party. The question is always, "Who is the innocent party?" Our present law instructs our authorities to accept the decisions of the courts. Whoever has been declared the innocent party by the courts, may be held to be the innocent party by the Church, and any one of our clergy may officiate in their remarriage.

I have myself known two cases where clergymen of our Church officiated perfectly legally in the remarriage of divorcees, in which two cases the legally innocent parties were really the de facto guilty parties. And here is the crux of the difficulty. I maintain that if the Episcopal Church is to continue to allow exceptions, then the Episcopal Church must establish a court. I know of several instances of gross injustice in this law—one of a man, who absolutely did not know that he had been divorced by a run-away wife—and he was divorced for no true cause whatsoever—yet the divorce decree that was obtained by the run-away wife was for the cause of desertion and cruelty on his part. After a period of four or five years, he desired to remarry. Of course, no clergyman of the Church could officiate. Of course, the Church's law says that the innocent party in such a case may be married in the Church. Behold the brutal injustice!

If we are going to keep laws with exceptions on our

statute books, let us have courage enough to have a court, specially to adjudicate these cases.

The thesis I wish now to defend is that it is no business of the Christian Church, by thus "allowing exceptions," to put itself into the position where it must establish such a court. Let us omit entirely the exception, and our law is perfectly clear. The chapter on remarriage in our Church would then become as refreshingly clear and plain as the famous Chapter Twelve of the Book of Ireland. "Chapter Twelve: On Snakes in Ireland: There are no snakes in Ireland."

In this whole question of divorce and remarriage, the most important thing is not remarriage, but premarriage. Upon that subject I wish to speak a few true, but bitter words, but before I utter them, may we not observe that one of the chiefest difficulties with us is caused by the fact that there is a confusion concerning the office of our clergy in this matter of marriage. The trouble is that, as a matter of fact, our clergy act sometimes as priests of the Christian Church, and sometimes as marrying agents licensed by the State for that purpose, officers thus of the State. It is my hope that the time will quickly come when we shall no longer be content to act as State marrying agents. Anyone who has ever witnessed the horrors of hasty, irreverential, frivolous, blasphemous, and often obscene conduct that goes on in City Halls, where licenses may be obtained in one room, and two-minute wedding services performed in the next, quite naturally will be shocked, but are these horrors always confined to City Halls? Anyone familiar with evening weddings in so-called churches, visioning a scenic expanse of bare-headed, bare-backed womankind, and listening to the whispering and giggling, and other outward and visible signs of inward frivolity and degradation, must agree that the Church and its clergy can hardly claim very much superiority to the "wedding chapels of the City Halls."

The whole thing really hinges on what we consider marriage to be. I quote what seems to me a great statement, taken from the "Gray Book": "Marriage is a holy state of life instituted of God, and blessed by Christ himself. And therefore, it is not by any to be taken in hand rashly or lightly, but reverently, wisely, soberly, and in the fear of God; duly considering the causes for which it was ordained. It was ordained that children might be born and brought up in the love of God and to the glory of his Name. It was ordained that natural instincts and affections given by God might be fulfilled and perfected in the love of man and woman with mutual honour and forbearance; and that thus, in holiness and purity of living, mankind should dwell together in families according to the will of God. It was ordained for the lifelong companionship, help and comfort that the one ought to have for the other, both in prosperity and adversity. Into which holy estate these two persons come now to be joined. Therefore, if any man can show just cause why they may not lawfully be joined together, let him now speak or else hereafter forever hold his peace. . . . O merciful Lord and heavenly Father, by whose gracious gift mankind is increased; Bestow, we beseech thee, upon these two persons the heritage and gift of children; and grant that they may live together so long in godly love and honesty, that they may see their children Christianly and virtuously brought up to thy praise and honour; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*"

I have spoken about the practical confusion of the clergy, being at one and the same time State agents and priests of the Church. We must cease to be State agents. We must act only as priests of the Church. I hope to see the publication of the banns restored for one thing. It seems to me that the Church ought to take the stand—perfectly logical, perfectly consistent, and perfectly Christian—that she will bless only the marriage of her own children. If we do this,

we shall be doing just what we ought to do, and what the Prayer Book, by its arrangement of services, clearly shows should be done. We baptize our children, we instruct them, and bring them to Confirmation. After Confirmation comes the Marriage Service. I cannot see how we are called upon, neither can I think that we ought otherwise to officiate. I do not conceive that this question is a question here to be considered except as affecting the Church, of which we are members. The Church's ideal is clear—the union of one man and one woman for life, for the reasons and for the purposes so finely set forth in the declaration which I read to you. No matter what the view of others may be, no matter what the position of the State is, this shall be the position of the Church. We speak glibly of the glory in America of having a separation of Church and State. Here is the place where a separation of the Church from the State is indeed a glory. Thus separated, the Church stands with its high and holy, pure and divine ideal of the greatest of all human relationships. Thus, and thus only the Church proclaims her ideal, stands by that ideal, and as I think, will more strongly live, because of that ideal. Problems of infidelity, race suicide, and all the various noxious vapors that come from the swamps of the various State divorce courts, will be blown away from the high summit of the Church's position, and again, as of old, and as always, the Church will be the leader in the upward advance of civilization.

You may say all this is only an ideal, but I shall reply to you in the words of Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The ideal is always the tyrant of the real."

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

By Katharine Bement Davis, M.D.

I RECEIVED two distinct shocks in connection with my presence here this morning. The first was when I read in the *Sun* of last evening that I was to speak on divorce and remarriage. I was asked last spring, a year ago, to speak on marriage, not on divorce and remarriage. The second shock was this morning, when a friend showed me this morning's Boston paper and I saw myself in a group headed "Distinguished Ecclesiastics of the Episcopal Church." That was an honour to which I had never aspired.

I want to approach this subject from a different point of view from that of the previous speaker. I am not a member of the Episcopal Church; I am a Congregationalist by religious belief. I am not married, and yet I have been asked to speak to you on the subject of marriage. I suppose the reason is because it was known that the organization with which I am connected, which is a research bureau, has been making a study, as scientific as it is humanly possible to make it in our present state of knowledge, of this question of marriage. To me it seems vitally more important that we should consider marriage, and the right kind of marriage, than that we should consider divorce and remarriage. If we could keep all the marriages straight there would not be nearly as much need for considering the question of divorce and remarriage. It is the first one that counts the most, at least it ought to.

It does not make any difference whether we are funda-

mentalists, whether we believe, as some people do, in the literal words of the Bible and believe that the human race was created on the sixth day of creation male and female, as we know them now, a complete product, or whether we are evolutionists and believe that the human race has developed through countless ages from the primeval, a bit of protoplasm,—it does not make the slightest difference which of these two things we believe; the fact is that we are here as we are now, men and women, and we cannot get away from it. Now, I am some kind of a feminist, but not the kind of feminist that believes that it will ever be possible to make a woman into a man, and it would be equally impossible to make a man into a woman. We are here as we are. The happiness, the future, everything in the human race, depends on the possibility of adjustments between men and women.

This is an age when all human relationships are being questioned. The statistics which Dr. Gates gave show a very great increase in the questioning of the permanence of the marriage relation. The Church, I believe, ought to take a stand—and by "the Church" I mean not only the Episcopal church but the Christian Church—the Christian Church ought to take a stand not only on the question of divorce and remarriage, but it ought to take a very definite stand on the question of the original marriage, and in this way I believe that the Christian Church is very seriously responsible for the attitude on matters connected with sex that are well known to exist, and I believe that the time has come when all thinking persons should be led, if possible, to see this thing.

I think, in the first place, not Jesus Christ, but St. Paul is very largely responsible for the disrepute into which the sex relation fell in very early days of the Church, and in which it has persisted. I think the wickedest thing that I know of in the world is a sentence in your baptism service,—

I think that sentence has done more to bring into ill repute the whole question of the relation of the sexes than anything else,—and that is, "In sin did thy mother conceive thee." If a child is conceived in sin, then the whole marriage relation is sinful. Well, it is no wonder that woman after woman has written to me in the course of our investigation. One woman wrote, "I am a happy mother and a happy grandmother, I have been a lecturer for many years on social purity,"—she is an older woman and is a representative of that old organization,—"but," she said, "I have never been able to get it out of my head that there is something shameful in the relationship of the sexes. It is inborn in me." Woman after woman has written to me in the course of our study to the same effect, that she has never been able to get away from the idea that there is something shameful in the human relationship.

I don't need to dwell on the importance of that relationship. Our whole civilization in the western world is based on the monogamous marriage. We are all agreed that not only the happiness of the home but our civilization is dependent on the proper bringing into the world, first, of the right kind of children, and second, on their nurture and training. It all depends on that. There is nothing so fundamental. And yet have you ever stopped to think that in the one relationship which is the most important relationship of all in connection with marriage, that of the sex relationship, it is the one thing which young people have never been taught, as a rule. We teach children everything else that we can think of, we are more and more extending the scope of the material facts which we bring into our educational system, yet on this one thing of right sex relationships we have been afraid to talk. Parents have been unwilling to discuss matters relating to sex with their children. The natural thing for the child is to say, "Where did I come from? Where did little sister [or little brother] come

from?" That is the first thing, perhaps, in the matter of sex that comes to little children to think about. "Where did we come from?" "How did we get into the world?" We all know that for generations the stork story has prevailed, that or something like it. It is a lie. It is an absolute lie. And how can children believe who in their first questionings of human origin and human relationships are told what they find out to be untrue?

Again, in the studies which we have been pursuing, woman after woman has written to me that her first information—and what is true of women is true of young men as well, because studies are being made now, and have been made, in regard to them—her first knowledge of sex matters came from distorted sources. If you will think back, everyone in this audience, to where you got your first information in these matters, I think you will agree that it did not come from your parents, it did not come from your teachers, either your lay teachers or your Sabbath school teachers; your first knowledge of sex came in whisperings, very often dirty and distorted whisperings, from your school friends or the boys and girls that you met on the street. It seems to me that is all wrong.

Again, we have been inquiring of judges, particularly of a few judges whose work lies in the divorce court, as to what they know of the real causes underlying applications for divorce. One judge, whose name I will not give now, who sits in the divorce court of a very large city, told me not long ago that he, feeling very deeply, as he did, because he is a man of religious feeling, the dangers which are menacing our country from the increase of divorce, had made a practice not simply of taking the case and trying it on the facts as presented by the attorneys for the party, where the alleged facts, as you have said, might be true and might not be true, but of trying to get behind that. He has been very severely criticized by his legal brethren for his attempts to get at the

real truth underlying the petitions for divorce and trying to see if it were not possible, even when the thing had gone as far as that, to make some adjustment that would prevent the final action. He says that, whatever the alleged cause on the papers, in his experience the predominating cause, predominating in a larger percentage of cases than I would dare to tell you, is in the impossibility of satisfactory sexual adjustments between the man and the woman.

We have in New York an organization called the Legal Aid Society. It is to help men and women who need to appeal to the law but who have not the funds to pay for securing first class lawyers. That society gives legal aid. It handles several thousand cases of divorce in a year, where it is called in very, very largely by women who want to be released from their husbands. It tells the same story, that in the large proportion of these cases the difficulty, the initial difficulty, lies in the inability of the adjustment of the sexual relationship. They may allege other causes, but the root is there.

Why can't we, we grown people, why can't we face facts as they are? Here is the most important human relationship that there is. There is nothing else so important. It is the way by which the race can be carried on. By no other way can it be carried on. It seems only the part of commonsense to try and see how we can do it in the best possible way, and yet we have not done it. It seems as if we are old enough to look facts in the face. If this is true, if it is true that the wrong adjustment in matters of adjusting the sex relationship once the marriage is formed is the real cause of a great deal of the trouble, let us study the situation, if we can, if there is any way of doing it let us study the situation and see what we can find out.

I believe, as I said, that your Church, among other Churches, is very largely responsible for the situation whereby any reasonable discussion of sex is tabooed, and St. Paul

began it. He began it. I have always felt that I would like to have known the true inwardness of St. Paul's life. Judging from reading carefully what he said I believe he must have had some terrible experience with some woman. I honestly do. That is not joking at all. I honestly think that. You know how he writes. I have the quotations here, but you know them better than I do, I don't need to read them. One thing that has made a great deal of trouble has been his emphasis upon the inferior position of woman in the marriage relation. "Wives, submit yourselves to your husbands." "The husband is the head in all things, even as Christ is the head of the Church." There is the saying that, "But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over her husband,"—well, why should either have authority over the other?—"but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed," etc. "Neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman" was created "for the man." There is another sex statement, and the men have presumed upon that statement all down through the ages.

The early writers of the Christian Church, the monastic fathers, who have written on the subject of sex relationship, have said down the ages that the woman was the temptress, that she was the great source of evil. The physical temptation which woman offered to man was the thing that stood out. I am second to none in my honour of both men and women who, because they believe they can serve God and humankind better by being free from family obligations, refrain from marriage. If we were to say that it is the most honourable thing that a person can do to deny herself or himself the happiness of husband or wife and children and home in order that they may serve Jesus Christ and may serve humanity better, all honour to them. But don't put it on the ground that it is better because of the fact that they have no physical relations, the man with the woman or

the woman with the man, and that has been the basis on which the relationship has been put.

This study which we have been making in our bureau has been a study very largely of college graduates,—woman college graduates. The first study included a small group of married women who were not college graduates, but smaller in number. You know, perhaps, that statistics have been held in the past rather in disrepute. I don't mean the kind of statistics which you gave, where you showed definitely that divorces were increasing, but the uses to which statistics have been put, the deductions that have been drawn from statistics, so that somebody or other has said that there were three kind of lies, plain lies, and damned lies, and statistics. The statisticians to-day have been working out methods of handling statistical data by the means of formulæ derived from advanced mathematics, whereby if you are comparing two groups of people it is perfectly possible, if you have enough cases, to say whether an observed difference in the two groups is significant of a real difference or whether it is just the result of chance simply, you have taken this group of people instead of another group of people to compare. You can actually do that. It is a refinement of the statistical method which is used in studying human data, very much in the way that the biologists in their laboratories use their microscopes to study biological data. We have not refined it so far. We made that kind of comparison.

The first study was the study of married women, and it was done by means of a questionnaire. I know all that can be said against a questionnaire method in the study of human data, but it is the best method we have at the present time for studying data on a large scale. Our bureau got together a committee of women, women of the greatest scientific attainments in their specific fields in the United States. We had men for advisers, men of scientific reputation. We submitted our schedules to them as well. We wrote a pre-

liminary letter to a selected group of women,—they were not selected except as we wanted geographical and age distribution,—explaining that we wanted these data for scientific purposes, and asking if they would co-operate to the extent of giving us their experiences. I have nearly three thousand such histories now.

I took the first thousand replies. These were all married women, mind you. One question that was asked was: "Has your marriage been a happy one or not, and, if so, why?" Now, I know you can question what makes happiness, happiness for one person is a different thing from happiness for another person, but generally speaking, in the language of the streets, "Are you happy?" Out of one thousand women one hundred and sixteen said they were not happy. That is not a large percentage, perhaps. That is a little over 10 per cent. They had not most of them gone so far as to get a divorce. Then the next question was, "Why do you consider your marriage a failure? What are the reasons?" The largest number of reasons given was incompatibility in the sex relationship. That was the answer in the largest number of cases. The next largest number was plain incompatibility, without any specifications as to what the incompatibility consisted of. It may have been incompatibility in the things they liked for breakfast, but it may have been other things just as well.

Then we made an analysis of this group of one hundred and sixteen. We wanted to compare them with a group of one hundred and sixteen who were happy. I am telling you this in detail; I want you to believe there is something in it. The one hundred and sixteen who were unhappy were somewhat less educated than the happy ones. The difference in percentages was large enough to indicate a real difference. They were somewhat older than the other group. That might have been expected. That difference was large enough to be significant. We thought we would eliminate those

two things, age and education, so we took the first. If our first unhappy lady was thirty-five years old and a college graduate, we took the first happy lady that we came to in the pile who was the same age and had had the same education, and so we went through, matching them up. Then we made our comparisons.

The point I want to make here is that one of the questions that we asked was: "Were you prepared for marriage on the physical side? Had you had training or education which prepared you for what you would meet on the physical side of marriage?" A very large majority of the women had had no such preparation. But the point was whether the lack of that preparation would lead to a happy or an unhappy marriage, whether the difference was sufficient to make that a real cause, because there were of course a large number of women who had no preparation for it and yet said they were happy. I think the men ought to be interested in the testimony of those wives, where they said that the considerateness, the kindness, the gentleness of their husbands was the only thing that saved them. Many of them said, "I never would have married if I had had any idea of what it involved on the physical side." Many of them said that. But the interesting thing was that between the unhappy group and an equal number of happy marriages, the difference in percentages between those who had had proper information and those who had not was large enough to be mathematically significant, showing that, although the lack of information did not necessarily make an unhappy marriage, the percentage was much higher in the group of those who were unhappily married of those who were ignorant, which would show that it was a real factor in the situation, not the only factor but a very real factor. Coupling that with the testimony of the women on various other points which touched upon this subject, there would seem to be no doubt whatever in the minds of those who studied

those papers that lack of preparation and information on that particular point was a real factor tending towards an unhappy marriage.

Now I believe the time has come, in view of the disturbed conditions of our young people, if the papers are to be believed, to consider the question. I know of course it is always possible for us who are older to think that the rising generation is worse than ours was when we were young. All of that is possible, but it is undoubtedly true that there is this questioning of all human relationships, marriage among them. Shall we preserve our monogamous marriage in the form in which we know it? Shall we allow greater liberty of divorce? There are all of those questions. Our young people are getting information. They are getting it from novels such as have been described. They are getting it from the plays. They are getting it from the movies. And they are talking much more freely than they used to talk. A friend of mine told me the other day that at the college in which her daughter was an undergraduate they recently circulated a petition—it was not a petition, it was a little questionnaire—asking the girls to put down what was the most common subject of discussion in the group of girls to which she might belong, and they tabulated the subjects of discussion in this undergraduate group at one of our leading colleges. The two subjects which came out ahead in the polling, that were the most discussed among the graduates, were the League of Nations and birth control. Those two subjects received the most votes.

Our young people are learning about these things somehow. They are learning them from somebody. Isn't it the part of the parent and of the teacher and of the Church to take the stand that we are going to begin to take away some of the taboo, in the first place, that has been attached to a frank, honest, clean discussion of sex relationship? I don't mean that these are subjects for general conversation,

as they appeared to be in that college, where girls who were undergraduates were discussing birth control. There would not be so much chance of that if we took our children when they were little, when they could first begin to ask questions, and answered their questions honestly; if as they grew older their parents, who are the proper ones to do it, next to their parents their teachers, taught them the important physical facts of life, the important part that sex relations play in the human economy, because it is the most fundamental thing, next to the appetite of hunger the appetite of sex, which carries on the world, and the psychologists tell us is at the bottom of all our greatest evils. Isn't it time that the Church should take this thing up and see that it is not left for physiologists and psychologists and all the rest of them to make the impression on our young people, but that the Church should give careful, serious study and consideration to this matter of sex relationships, with the end in view that the right kind of marriages shall be made, that young men and young women shall not go blindfold into it, not knowing what it involves, that the Church take the lead, as I believe it should, in asking the parents and the teachers, its own teachers among others, to give our young people the right kind of training in this most fundamental and important of human relationships?

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

By Percy Gamble Kammerer, Ph.D.

FOR some years I have been a humble student of sociology and psychology, and I have made one or two slight contributions in the field of the study of the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child. I also am an Episcopalian. It has been a very great pleasure to me to come here and listen to the discussion of this topic. I wish that Dr. Davis had given us a little bit more pointed statement in regard to her opinion concerning remarriage. Dr. Gates is always witty and humorous, but as I listened to his discussion it occurred to me that he did not bring into consideration the work of one outstanding sociologist, psychiatrist, or psychologist, it was the traditional statement of the Church of the past. It is to me an empty gesture. I think that all of us who are interested in the question of Christian ethics must recognize the conflict between the textual statements and the results of modern investigation. It is perfectly possible for us to go on in conventions and in meetings of this kind referring to proof texts. Dr. Gates says that they are not to be argued, that they are either to be accepted or rejected. On his own statement I may suggest to you that in the light of present day knowledge concerning the underlying facts of life those statements must be rejected. Now I stand before you open to a considerable amount of criticism. Dr. Rossville stressed the point that he called the theory of development in Christian revelation. I suggest to you that possibly we have reached the point when proof texts are no longer the

determinants in actions of this nature, when we must say these texts evidently had their meaning at a certain time and they expressed certain ideas, but unless we are going to rule out the great body of serious-minded thinkers, unless we are going to say that all sociologists and social workers and psychologists—all of those people who give their lives to the study of these situations—are materialists, self-centred atheists, then we have got to take their criticism into consideration. I know of no eminent student of society to-day who does not defend the remarriage of divorced people under certain conditions. I know of no one who is not aware of the grave abuses that exist. But instead of trying to say these things can't be discussed, instead of trying to call back the authority of a mediæval Church, let us see whether we cannot look at them rationally, for there is nothing sacrosanct about the family. The holy thing in the family is what the man and the woman bring into it, and the test of any human relationship is not what was thought about it in the past but whether it has the power to survive and meet the human needs of to-day. I submit to you for your consideration this proposition. Let us have a Federal divorce law, and then let the Church allow the remarriage of divorced persons on those grounds which the enlightened community sanctions.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

By Samuel D. McConnell, D.D., LL.D.

WE shall all grant the extraordinary multiplication of divorces. Let that go. Now the question is to seek the reasons of them, and to interpret them ethically. It is assumed that a multiplication of divorces indicates a steadily lowering morality. It may, but it may also indicate a steadily rising morality just as well. It does it in this way. Eighty-five per cent of the divorces are granted at the request of women. Why? Things stand together in this world. One of the most extraordinary facts of modern times is the arrival of the woman at the consciousness of her own personality. That is the thing that marks modern society. For the first time she has come to self-consciousness. She has been ages in doing it. Partly she has been retarded by St. Paul, and partly she has been carried forward by the spirit of Christianity. Both of these have operated to the same end. But she has become self-conscious as an individual. She has established, as the result of that consciousness, her place in the political world, in the economical world, in the social world. It follows from that inevitably that more and more marriage will come to be conceived of as a contract. It may be right or wrong; I am not arguing as to that, I am simply stating the fact. More and more marriage has come, and it will come more and more, to be conceived of as a contractual relation between two persons. It is infinitely more than that, but that is what differentiates the conception of marriage to-day from what it was a hundred years

ago. Now the woman seeks the divorce. Why? Because she is a better woman than her grandmother was. That is the reason why. Her grandmother would endure abasement, self-humiliation, torment, which the woman to-day can't endure at all because her own consciousness of herself is infinitely higher than her grandmother's. She asks the divorce often because her own moral consciousness is enormously superior to the moral consciousness of her grandmother. That is the reason why divorces are asked by women. The thing is, then, not to try to stem the current of divorces absolutely. You cannot do it, because they rise out of causes over which you have no control. The problem is what to do with them. A number of things have been suggested here which are perfectly right and proper to do, I think, but what I want to emphasize is just two things. The increasing multiplicity of divorces does not necessarily indicate a low moral sexual ideal. On the contrary, it grows out of an entirely different thing, and that is a higher moral sexual ideal. There are one or two things which are perfectly clear to me. There is no law of man or God which can compel a woman to yield her own body against her own wish. If there is anything that is fundamental it is the right of a woman to the ownership of her own body, and the Church and the State have got to conform and to adjust themselves to that fact.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

By Ambrose D. Gring

IT has been my great fortune in life to have lived in the Orient and to have been attached to the Orient for almost fifty years. I have been interested in Japan particularly, but in China and Japan and the Orient generally. I think that it is wholesome, probably, to throw a little Oriental light on this subject of marriage and divorce. The Oriental people of course are looked upon by us as heathen people. This is a great misnomer. They are not religious people in our sense. They are not Christians, with the exception of a very few. But the Oriental people have been great students of human nature. They have had these great problems continually to contend with, and they have made about as good a disposition of the many questions that were suggested here as they could possibly make, I think. They had a great many people to deal with. They had comparatively little knowledge how to make the most out of their countries, and therefore as a rule they were very poor, and they are very poor to-day. They have the great economic questions of the world as the world increases in population to deal with, and this question of marriage and divorce has come into that and must be settled largely in connection with it.

In Japan, of course as you know, they have hit upon the idea of early marriages. We generally have supposed that that has come about because of the climate in Japan, or China, or India. That may have been an element in the decision, but it certainly is not the foundation element of early marriages.

One of the great advantages of early marriage, because many of those early marriages begin, as you know, at six years, eight years, ten years, twelve years, is that those marriages have been made when the minds of both the boy and the girl were in the plastic condition. They grew up together as boy and girl, and they were under the same tutelage, in the same atmosphere, under the same religious ideas, and when they came to put their marriage into existence they had similar ideas, similar education, similar training, similar objects in life. What is the difficulty to-day? Chiefly, as I conceive of it, it is that here we get a man and a woman who have been trained entirely under different circumstances and different conditions, and they have different minds, they have different views, they have different interpretations, and to get them to surrender any of their old education is very difficult.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

By Arthur C. A. Hall, D.D., LL.D.

WHILE agreeing most heartily with a great deal of Dr. Davis's address, for much of which I desire to express my extreme gratitude, especially for her leadership in the crusade against ignorance, ignorance on vital points, nevertheless I do feel bound to utter a protest against reflections on the early Christian Church, on our Prayer Book, and on the Apostle St. Paul. I don't believe that the statement can in the least be justified that the early Christian Church considered in any sort of way that the marriage relation had anything shameful about it. All the testimony of the early Christian Church was on the other side. The only thing perhaps that could be adduced—I am not speaking of individuals who may have used exaggerated language—but the only testimony on the other side would be the special honour which the early Church paid by way of protest against and reaction from the sensuality of heathen society roundabout them, the special honour paid to virginity and a life dedicated free from family ties and such other distractions as would set a person free, as Dr. Davis said, for the undivided service of our Lord Jesus Christ and of humanity.

Then about the Prayer Book. It surely is a misunderstanding of a very gross kind which prevails, as it must prevail very commonly because I heard such cheers about it, in interpreting the words of the Prayer Book exhortation in the baptism service about a child being conceived and born in

sin, as having anything whatever to do with the sexual relationship. It has to do historically, and considered in any way, with a reference to the fall and to inherited sin. By the fall and by inherited sin we mean—I mean the Church means—that our nature has fallen into a condition of disorder, and that that twisted and tainted nature, not with actual sin, but as in consumption, with a certain weakness and tendency to evil, is handed on from generation to generation. That is the meaning of the phrase "conceived and born in sin." I am perfectly willing, perfectly willing, glad, to have the phrase amended, omitted if it is so commonly misunderstood, but I protest that it is a misunderstanding of which people ought to be ashamed.

Dr. DAVIS. You see I was not brought up an Episcopalian.

Bishop HALL. No, I perfectly excuse you, Madam.

Then St. Paul,—St. Paul, with your cathedral church named in his honour. He does not need much defense. But surely it may be said that St. Paul is not speaking of the inferiority of women when, quoting accepted old stories recorded in the Bible without necessarily sanctioning their historical character, he speaks of women's subordination. Inferiority is not subordination, and subordination is not inferiority. There may be a subordination of laymen to clergymen, but many of the laymen may be far superior to the clergymen with whom they come in contact.

I have only got three quarters of a minute. Let me use it.

Surely the moral of all this discussion is this: that we should teach true marriage. Leave out divorce, teach true marriage, and we won't have any divorce. And true marriage involves this: the union of man and woman, lifelong first, lifelong for better, for worse, in spite of many evils and difficulties and probably incompatibilities, I don't know, with the opportunity of the exercise of patience and for-

bearance, and holding another in restraint and restoring another when another has gone wrong.

CLOSING OF THE DISCUSSION

Bishop SLATTERY. We have six minutes more. That time I shall give to Dr. Gates and Dr. Davis, if they care for it. You have three minutes if you wish to speak, Dr. Gates.

Dr. GATES. I am sure we were all very greatly impressed with what my friend and neighbour, Dr. Kammerer, said about proof texts, but I must confess that I still do not agree with him, I am still strong for proof texts. I like the axioms. I like taxation,—no taxation without representation. I like the beatitudes. You may call them proof texts if you like, but at the same time they are statements of truth.

And just one other thing. I must confess that as I grow older I get a little weary with the claim that the only experts in these relations, especially on so serious a subject as remarriage, are members of the medical profession. They disguise themselves with strange and marvellous names, but at the same time there you are. I think I have a claim to qualify as an expert. For some twenty-one years I have ministered to a congregation which varies from five thousand to eight thousand people. I have lived in a certain section of New York,—I don't believe it is ever a part of New York, but a country district, still with a population of 400,000 or 500,000 people,—for so long that almost everybody comes to me to advise, and to be married, and all these things, as you know. Now, having had that experience, I can't see why I cannot qualify as an expert. The testimony which I kindly and charitably offer to my fellow expert is that in my experience, I cannot think of an exception at the present time,—I am subject to correction from this long register which contains the record of some 2,500 marriages which I have officiated at,—I cannot think of any exception

where remarriage of divorced people has worked out as my co-expert is sure it will.

Bishop SLATTERY. Dr. Davis does not wish to say anything, so we shall consider the subject closed. (Dr. Kammerer rises.) Dr. Kammerer, would you like to say something?

Dr. KAMMERER. I should like to say to Dr. Gates that I happen to be a clergyman, but of course I have not been as long in the ministry as he, I have not had as many thousand marriages or quite as large a congregation, but I have also put in a considerable amount of thought. I have spent five years at Emmanuel, where I have been interviewing people suffering from functional nervous troubles. That perhaps has not been in your experience. But why debate? We are friends. Let us look ahead and see whether we cannot come to some solution.

Bishop SLATTERY. There is one minute left, Dr. Gwynne, if you would like to speak.

Dr. GWYNNE. I want to call attention to a very important matter, one I think in which you will all agree with me. There are four bills—no, there are only three now, and possibly only two, before Congress for an amendment of the Constitution allowing Congress power to legislate on marriage and divorce. In all the hearings on those four proposed amendments, there has never been a single opposition to the proposition of giving authority to Congress to legislate. When you remember the forty-eight divergent codes of legislation, separate and all different and all confused, you will see the necessity of it.

CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE

§ 2

THE STANDARDS OF THE MODERN HOME

THE STANDARDS OF THE MODERN HOME

By Samuel Smith Drury, D.D., L.H.D.

WE who enter the modern home should stand at the door and knock. If Saviourhood shows this courtesy, investigation will not rush in. A man's house is his castle, and every frame cottage in the land is properly a castellated structure. As we stand and knock we shall hum the prayer, "Come Holy Ghost, our souls inspire," for in this quest how much we need the kindly light! Who would enter the modern home uninvited, passing judgment on its standards? "Here you do well, here you fail; here your behaviour is a benefit, here a menace to society." Indeed I see but this one justification for our study, which is that we are investigating ourselves and picturing our own predicaments or failures. Criticism, like charity and all the remedial disciplines, begins at home. Thus, in assessing what's right and wrong with the modern home, I simply sit by my fire, asking you to bring your own experiences and join in a general confession.

What a tonic and challenge it is to deal here and now with to-day. Our study of the standards of the modern home centres on what is and ought to be, not used to be. Let all delighters in reminiscence, all praisers of past time not listen here. We are scrutinizing the home of to-day to learn what it cares for, what it exalts, what its standards are. First of all, you will agree that the home, our home remember, is the most natural place in the world. To feel at home is to feel free. The practices and principles which we

find behind the door where we stand and knock are indicative of the free person. Society is conventional, churches are constrained, schools are ruled, but homes are free. "Home is the place which, when you have to go there, they have to take you in." But the gentle voice replies: "I should have called it something that somehow needn't be deserved." Yes, there is its distinction,—home needn't be deserved, nor cajoled, nor bargained with. It is the point of intensest social freedom. There is then no place like home to assess what the American people really care for and exalt.

Before discussing standards let me describe the practices of a modern home. Standards are, I suppose, the formal expression of principles; practices are the embodiment of these standards. To depict a modern home is a big task and you will ask whence my data come. Have I got it through a questionnaire? Not so! I, who abominate questionnaires, could not decently with hectograph and addressograph pester a patient mailing list. I find myself wondering if those who make up questionnaires often read the answers, or mean to, printed as their missives are on wrapping paper with scarce space to write replies! No, the procedure was not by one of these interruptionnaires, but by sinking six test holes in various parts of the continent. Besides this I enlisted the semi-confidential co-operation of a hundred or more young friends. I can tell you with fair exactness what are the practices of the American home.

And you may be surprised, any of you who expect a Jeremiad or an exposure of fashionable folly. When Talleyrand's reminiscences finally appeared Europe hoped for scandal and instead found stilted comment on state papers. Thus, one who knows part of America through boarding school life will not a tale unfold to harrow up thy soul, nor shock your sensibilities. It will not be a picture of jazz, lawlessness, and pocket flasks, without God in the world;

not ditto marks to Mr. Train's "His Children's Children," but something quite hopefully and wholesomely the reverse. Piecing together what my six experienced shepherds and my scores of sheep have told me, I am convinced that the modern home (your home that is, my home, the homes that reach from the four oratorical extremities, St. Lawrence to the Gulf, from Golden Gate to Fundy!), that this average and sample home is a thoroughly God-believing place. I find practices which prove that the American people are religious, and this is said not boastfully because we are Americans, but because we are people, sharing in the light that lighteth every man coming into the world. The modern home does not to-day commonly express its dependence on the Heavenly Father by family prayer, by family Bible reading, or by an inflexible Sunday observance. Generally it is sweetened by children's voices saying prayers to or with their parents; not infrequently by Grace at meals; and by communings of fathers or mothers in their rooms. Surely it is a mistake to test the religious life of a whole people by counting noses at church once a week on the one free day, mind you, of a restless hard-working populace. Our findings show besides private prayer an equally general use of Sunday Schools (old Robert Raikes, whose statue stands on Thames Embankment, when in 1780 you founded the Sunday School, you started no necessary evil but a positive good; you strengthened the Church, amplified the home, and furthered a far-flung devotion to the Scriptures). The free family then, left to itself, without restraint or obligation, is naturally God-cognizant; a place of religious opportunity and spiritual communion.

There are two other noble concerns besides the supreme faculty and practice of living with God in the world. These are education and service. The modern home is bent on achieving an education for all of its members. Whoever does not complete the high school course is to be pitied, and

the increasing expectation of college for boys and girls, as well as the avidity of their elders for information, albeit popularly served in lectures and by clubs, indicates that most families are marked by ambition for education. This extends throughout our country. The pathetic pride of tax payers in costly school buildings, irrespective of the quality of teaching therein, points to the reverence in the modern home for the many branches, yes twigs and tendrils of knowledge that are combined under the term education.

Service, the duty of spending a ponderable part of time without recompense for the common good, is far less common than its noble brother, education. Though, in the community at large that mature person is suspect who shows no interest in altruistic ventures, there are many families where a smug and snug fending for self is the secret ideal. The sense of Service is demonstrably weak in the modern home. How often we seek in vain for the careless rapture in reforms and causes. The child may learn at Sunday School the pretty practice of altruism by mite box or weekly penny, but this frequently lapses, and there is generated in the modern mind a smart suspicion of any project or person that needs money for support. We are all too firmly convinced that 'tis only Heaven that is given away. The modern home, *our* home, yours and mine, is a warm family centre of loyal domestic love, based on sub-conscious belief in God, keen for education and its frequent commercial or cultural rewards, but notably blind on the side of service.

We can now more helpfully investigate those standards which lie behind the practices of modern life. They must be measured by the Christian revelation of home life as founded in the home at Nazareth. Here I warn myself and you against a tendency to be too exact, against a desire of drawing up an indictment against a whole people. We must not sacrifice charity of heart to clarity of expression. Let us lean towards vagueness and charity. We hear, far and

near, that we are materialists, money mad, living by the rule of gold and not the Golden Rule. Do you believe it? Does materialism rule your home? I doubt if many families deserve the stigma. One beneficent result of the Federal Income Tax is that it shows how few people are rich in a country where there are still so many poor, so many groups dependent on weekly wages with nothing to fall back upon, where out of 100,000,000 of people only 200,000 have incomes of more than $10,000 a year, and where out of, say, twenty million households perhaps only a quarter of one million employ a domestic servant. In such a country why raise the cry of degraded materialism and of luxury that courts the fate of Rome. The modern family, yours and mine, in no wise resembles the home life of Caligula or Cleopatra,—as you know. It is said that the last century, the century of greatest commercial progress, gave us porcelain plumbing but stifled the spiritual sense. Perhaps so,—but even so, it was not a formal exchange for which we are directly responsible!

Again we are described by reformers in search of a grievance as a people wanting in poise. We are said to be disciples of hustle, efficiency, and get-there. Here again I dissent. What though the news-boy would beguile me with his mid-week pictorial by saying "All the news you want, *science, sport,* and *disaster,*" and what though I spend ten minutes and cents over radio, baseball, and earthquakes, I know, and you know, that these are not the controlling concerns of the modern home. Very well then, you are perhaps beginning to grow impatient, what *is* its controlling concern? There lies the rub. We must confess that the standards of the modern home are undefined. We don't just know what we're after or what our standards are.

Let us look at the first Christian home. With God a thousand years are as one day, and the example of Nazareth comes fresh from His hands. He gave it to His world day

before yesterday. There is nothing archaic or inapplicable about the home life of Jesus Christ. Commenting on it years after the young man praised Mary's home as a House of Bread. Yes, He praised *Joseph's* home. All mothers He assumed would be dispensers of nourishment; but His grateful memory included a nourishing fatherhood. Which of you that is a father, He queried with a smile, should if his son ask for bread give him a stone: or for fish, a scorpion? What the humble home, and it was inexpressibly humble compared with yours and mine, provided for the child, the youth, the man of Nazareth, can be furnished by the home of to-day.

We are an idealistic and emotional people, but deficient in clear-cut standards, and in any dogged practice of ethical and religious routine. Our home life provides little conviction and still less nourishment for the embodiment of standards. Now moral life requires both conviction and nourishment, light and food. Many a home confuses hoping with trying. Ours are houses of frosted cake not houses of bread. This may be the sufficient reason why ours is not to-day an out-and-out Christian country, because the home which ought to be a power plant is not the resultant of culture, conviction, and creed. We drift in a haze of idealism; we do not steer by beacon lights.

If the modern home would be a House of Bread it must clarify its standards and insist on their embodiment. First of all, the modern home lacks centralization and that quiet inter-nourishing communion which produces character. Each family needs a *secret evening;* the interfering world rigidly excluded, when strong heart and tried experience by the alchemy of love can feed receptive youth. The elders too need that resilience which drives off what the monks called *accidé,* the bane of middle life. A certain bishop with five sons in the ministry, at home and abroad, told me quite simply that he never remembered speaking to one of his boys

about following him into the Church. Why need he? The generous paternal nature presided over the boys. They saw what he served. The atmosphere of piety and service was crystal clear and needed no expression. The standard was so vitally embodied that the very walls cried out Service. It was a House of Bread. This is culture indeed, the exchange of power in the divinely drawn circle of the family. If elders are busy with their own affairs, if each member is selfishly realizing his or her own self at separated points, the home becomes a boarding house and the beacon light of culture does not guide.

There is too a notable lack of expressed ethical obligation in the modern home. "My parents taught me the difference between right and wrong." Yes, but is that sufficient? Is an intellectual distinction the nourishment of Nazareth? Should we not teach the beauty of holiness and the charm of communion? The habit of *laissez faire* in morals is due to our lazy avoidance of definite principles and our broad-minded unwillingness to bear witness to standards. The modern home, yours and mine, prides itself on toleration. If the devil himself calls, we've an easy chair for him. Righteous indignation has gone out; a certain legitimate choler has toned down into a shrug. Seldom does the father of a family smite the breakfast table till the cups clatter and cry, at some scurvy practice or injustice, "This is a damnable outrage." Such an expression on the one hand, and "God bless the Lamplighter" on the other, are regarded as extreme to all who favour an even course betwixt Hell and Heaven.

We Americans lack defined ethical habits. We prefer spontaneity; and spontaneity is as false a pavement as good intentions. Alfred Lyttleton records that usually in the summer his father took the whole family for a month to the seashore. On the day of their arrival Lord Lyttleton would make immediate inquiries as to (1) a church where

there was a daily service, (2) as to some blind old woman to whom he could read aloud, and (3) as to a place where he could play billiards. Settling on these the details of his life quickly rattled into place. Our way is to settle on the details and trust to spontaneity for the obligations. What the modern family needs is routine, an idealistic routine, a habit of doing certain things because they are right, whether we feel like doing them or no. This vague and tolerant view towards ethical principle issues in low grade morality and in lives unlit by the grace of our Lord. It may account for easy, expected divorce, for law-breaking where law impinges on our primrose path, for the loss of delight in fine conduct which is the reward of ethical precision. We have ceased to recognize and reverence the Right, because we have accustomed ourselves to live with second and third rate expediencies. So the beacon light of conviction unfed by conscience sputters out.

The final lack of standard at home lies in indefiniteness, both as to creed and the living of it. Has not religion always cried "*Lift* up your hearts," and is not our modern suggestion, "Better let your better self float skyward"? I do not know where creed and conduct meet, but meet they do and must for the happy development of home or individual. Somewhere above us the voice saying to each pilgrim, "Thou art my son," and the voice crying "Abba, Father," join in chorus; somewhere the voice proclaiming "I am," and the voice of man replying "I ought," combine; somewhere truth and duty, creed and conduct meet. Whether creed feeds conduct more or conscience creed I cannot say, but that they belong together, and, separated, dwindle, is certain. The productive home enshrines both. The House of Bread will not be afraid to profess a creed. Indeed the modern home's greatest need is creed. For truth is the soul's rightful heritage and its food. We are restless till we rest for short or long durations of mental development in a standard of belief,

in a concept of truth expressed in words. A general abandonment of creed will not long precede the collapse of the whole structure of finer ethical perceptions. It may be that we use the creed too often; that a too frequent expression of words dulls their tremendous implications. The lack of direction and drive in our Church life, and in our home as a power plant of growing personality is directly traceable to our intellectual vagueness about spiritual verity. What most families need, our home, yours and mine, is a delight in Christlike activity, a routine performance of Christian principles which will come only when we heed the beacon light of a definite belief.

Every home is a castle, a free centre of personality developing without restraint. Therein lies its charm, its danger, and its power. When we make the home a centre of culture and service, when we exalt therein the indubitable Christian ethic, when Jesus Christ is invited to be actually a member of the family, then and only then the modern home, yours and mine, will be a House of Bread.

THE STANDARDS OF THE MODERN HOME

By Frederick Pickering Cabot, A.M., LL.B.

I AM going to speak from the point of view gained from my position in the Boston Juvenile Court. First I want to say that the boys and girls that come before that court seem to me to be essentially the same kind of boys and girls that come from the most highly privileged members of the community, the same kind of boys that go to Dr. Drury's school, the same kind of girls that go to our best private schools. They are the same human nature. And second with reference to their parents. Their parents are more apt, because the court that I have to do with is in the crowded part of the city, to be persons of limited financial resources, who live in crowded rooms and have not the material comforts that persons of greater wealth are apt to have. But the home is essentially the same. It is the home where the father and the mother are hoping that the child that they bring into the world is going to be a greater personality than either of them. It is of the character of the home, the love of the parent, the desire to develop the finest thing in the child as a contributing member of society, as a person who has something to give and realizes that he has a duty to give it, that I want to speak.

First, then, of the homes that the court sees, and the standards of those homes. In a sense there are no standards, because I am dealing largely with the recent arrivals in this country and they are seeking American standards for their children, they are seeking standards rather than having

them. Their own old world standards seem not to fit in with our ways and standards, and they are seeking to readjust themselves. They look about for the standards that are shown by the boys and girls whose parents and grandparents have been born in this country, and I wonder if we are as proud of those standards as we ought to be. A mother says, "But my American friend does not know where her child is, she does not know what she is doing, does not know what her interests are. She goes to school and comes back when she pleases. The boy goes off and comes back when he pleases. He joins clubs, or he says he joins clubs, and I, his mother, know nothing about it. You Americans don't seem to care what happens to your children." It is difficult for persons who have been brought up in the old world, with their strict relation to their children, to understand the meaning of what is going on here with our apparent freedom that seems to mean letting the child go without standards. I don't say that that is a true, sound diagnosis, but that is the way it appears to many of the parents that I see in court.

I want to speak second about the ideas of these newly arrived parents as to physical health, standards of health. They come to this country having brought forth their children in Europe without doctors in many instances, with supreme faith that God will look after them, that it is not wise to interfere with the ways of God, and that they cannot do anything about it if a child is sick or handicapped. I had a woman before me the other day whose child was suffering from a dislocated hip. We sent the child to different hospitals. Every doctor agreed that the child should have an operation. It was a comparatively simple operation. It was a matter of manipulation, placing that hip back in the socket. And the mother said, "If it had happened from an accident I would be willing, but as the child was born that way God intended that the child should continue that way." Now,

how are we going to get people to understand that things can be done, and rightly done, and that our duty requires us to do them, with reference to our body? We have but one body to live with, and we want it in as fine condition and shape as possible. We want to make all adjustments that can be made, so that a person with his body may live a wholesome, fine life. That is one of the first things that the foreign immigrant comes to realize here, that we believe it is part of our duty to remedy the defects of the body and try and make a rounded, wholesome physical person.

Take another example, a boy suffering from tuberculosis. The parents won't send that boy to the hospital. You can do nothing with them. The social worker goes in, and the parents say, "No, he has been given this body, we can do nothing about it." Then when the boy comes before the court, he says he won't go, he is afraid to go, to a hospital, his family does not believe in hospitals. You ask that boy what he is interested in, and he replies "automobiles." You ask him what is done to an automobile after it has been running a year, if it is overhauled, looked over, to see if it can be adjusted so as to run smoothly, without noise, and efficiently, and he says, "I see the point, and I will go to the hospital." What we want to do, then, is to bring the right idea with reference to our body before these boys and girls, and the mothers and fathers. They fundamentally care. They want their children to have better bodies, but they did not understand that anything should be done about it.

And now how about their minds, their mental equipment? You have the parent who does not understand or who is incapable of understanding the child; you have the parent who has a very definite idea about the child, a fixed notion of what that child should be like, and you have the parent who out of excessive love wishes to keep the child a baby, hates to see the child grow up. With reference to these attitudes I think there is no difference in the parents that I see in the

court and the parents that I see outside of the court. I think, that is, there are too few persons who really consider that the boy or girl growing up before them is a live, growing, developing personality. Men and women often have the finest kind of ideas as to what they want their boy or girl to be and they use all their powers to make that boy or girl that thing, but they do not consider what that boy or girl is going to be, and that they are different from the parents' idea of them, and that they are entitled to develop according to their own abilities, and that the function of the parent is to guide those abilities so that these children grow into balanced persons, having a place in the world with contributing duties.

I had before me a family where the child was an only son, fourteen years of age. The boy was in court on rather a serious charge, and the mother said, "Judge, I know more about that boy than you can possibly know by seeing him just this day. I brought that boy into the world. I have watched him grow. I care more than you can possibly care about that boy. I want him the finest kind of a boy. I have watched every step in his growth, every thought that he has had. It is impossible that he could have done these things that you say. Why, that boy never goes to play but I go with him. That boy is never on the football field or the baseball field but I am on the side lines. I go with him to school. He sleeps in my room. I give him his bath." A boy of fourteen! I asked if she had nursed him. She said she did. I said, "You weaned him from the breast. Why don't you wean him now as a personality?" It was not because she didn't care, it was not because she didn't have preconceived standards, but she didn't have the fundamental standards respecting the personality that was before her.

Now take an instance of a father. He says of his son, "I know more about that boy than you can possibly know. I have watched him. Don't you think I care what kind of

a man he is going to be? I want him to be a wholesome, fine man. I have been in the army. I have served in two wars. I have been a corporal, with men under me. I know how to put fear into that boy's heart and make him do the things that he ought to do." Is that education, putting fear into his heart? If he is a spirited boy it either breaks him or he rebels and leaves the home. That father had a fine model into which to fit that boy, but it was not a standard for a living being, it was the standard that the great artist has when he is making a vase from the clay before him, it was not the standard of something living that was going to be different from himself. That father did not respect his boy.

By respecting the personality that is before them, I don't mean indulging every whim or vagary of the youngster, every impulse, I don't mean being without standards. It is the privilege of parents to educate, to draw out their children, to give them the benefit of the parents' experience, not let them flounder round through the world, but teach them the value of the things that we have all found from history, from schools, from our churches, through the revelations that have come to us. I want the child to have the benefit of all that, but I want him to have it so that he realizes that he is going to stand on his own feet, a person contributing the best that is in him, so that he has the best possible body, and the best possible mind, the trained mind, thinking clearly and not given over to the whims of the moment and to uncontrolled emotional life, and has a sense of obligation to other persons and to duties.

I speak of those fundamentals because I want to speak of how far those boys and girls that we see in court get those things in their own home. The families in the crowded parts of the city are blessed with many children, and the boy and the girl have to adjust themselves to their brothers or sisters. They are infinitely more fortunate than the single child, or the one or two children, in a family, because there is

more give and take and adjustment to one another. It is through the problem of living your life with others that you discover what your loyalties are, what your own resources are, and what the resources of the other person may be. It is important for us in developing our own personality and our own individuality to realize that we are simply one of a group and it is equally important what the other person's personality is, and the individuality of the two must be developed together to make the common life. This exists to a supreme degree in the large families crowded together. When a boy comes to court I ask him where he sleeps, and he says he sleeps in the back room. I say, "How many others sleep in that back room?" "Six." "How many sleep in your bed?" He says, "Three at the top and one at the bottom." I don't think there is any great harm in that, if there is air there, and the windows are open. It is a great deal more wholesome than the way in which a boy is brought up in far more luxury but without adjusting himself to brothers and sisters. The children have to be fair and right to each other in such a home.

I want to read a line from Mr. J. Prentiss Murphy, who formerly was the head of the Children's Aid Society here in Boston, a child-placing agency, that takes some of the children that come before the court when it becomes important that they should be placed away from their families. It takes children who do not come to court. It places those children in other families. Its chief object, however, of course is to keep a child in its own family. I want to read a brief quotation from him, that has to do with the development of individuals away from the dead level, the conventional life, treating of all children alike, as though they were machines. He says this:

"To express, to create, to give out are inherent human qualities, and these qualities lead to the inevitable variety of experiences that make up the individual and collective life of any

community. It is more essential to an individual's own development that he live in an untidy way, responsible for what he does, than to live in absolute order, yet protesting all the time against his surroundings. It is more important that a person feel the greatest freedom in the make-up of imperfect choices and selections for which he is responsible than to live under a forced environment unsought and at heart unaccepted."

Live in an untidy way provided he lives! Make imperfect choices provided he makes those choices! I think that is what is happening in the homes of most of the boys and girls that I see in the court. They are expected and expecting to do many things. From the very beginning they are expecting and expected to be contributing members of the family. When I ask a boy how many children there are he begins by giving their names, and then he says, "There is my baby." It is always, "My baby." I ask, "What do you do?" He replies that when he goes home from school he either goes and gets wood, does errands, or "minds my baby." In the homes of the rich how many boys refer to the baby in the family as "my baby," or "mind my baby"? These boys contribute to the support of the family, and every cent is turned over to the family. It is expected of them. It is expected that they should do the chores. It is expected that they should go out and get wood. It is expected that they do the errands. They do those things, and they do them gladly. It is expected that they go out and sell fruit, or get barrels and sell them, and bring the money back and give every cent to the family. It is expected that every cent of every boy and girl up to the time that they leave the family and marry, should go to the father and mother, and not a single penny of it by right belongs to the children. A boy lately in court got up at two o'clock in the morning and went to a bakery to weigh the loaves, so that they should not be underweight or overweight, continued till school time delivering loaves, went back in his school intermission

at noon to deliver the loaves, and back again in the afternoon, or else he did the chores for the family. When told to stop doing this he said, "But I must do it. The family need it." It is all wrong, it has gone a great deal too far, but there is something fine nevertheless in that attitude of that child towards the family, the responsibility for that family.

Take the case of a little girl. Everything has gone wrong at home. The mother is drinking—they don't call it drinking, they call it being nervous and taking patent medicines, but it is drinking—and the home is all in disorder. There is no standard of cleanliness and care. The little girl is knitting sweaters and helping out. Then the organizations come in and say, "Take that child away from the home." The question is, Can't that child help that mother, can't that child lead that mother to see that if she gives up some of those medicines she is going to be a stronger, healthier woman, get a new idea of health and hygiene? At any rate, we tried it. We tried it, however, by leaving the little child there without putting all the burden on the child; placing her under the supervision of a social worker, who understood children, who saw to it that that child had outside recreation, had her join clubs, got her interested in other things, and gave her a country vacation, so that she had a rounded life, but nevertheless left great responsibility on that child, and as a result that child absolutely pulled her mother through. Are any loyalties greater than the loyalties that are so developed? Can you by putting that child in the house of the most well-to-do give such standards in family living as will come through the natural affection, through the relationship of that child to her father and mother? It is a great deal better, even when the standards of the father and mother are wrong, if you can rely on the children and call upon them to help. From their birth they have been expecting to help, and that is the thing that is impressive.

And now as to making choices: you ask a boy what he is going to do in life. "Get a job." "What kind of a job?" "What comes." You are sorry for that boy. You are sorry for him that his father and mother are not planning and hunting out a fine job for him according to his abilities. But the community is doing something for him. We have now got in our schools vocational guides who try to place that boy rightly, according to his abilities.

What I want to bring out is simply that the point of view to-day is totally different now from what it was before, and it is needed.

When we say that these families are being Americanized I am rather inclined to shudder, because what happens in the American family is that we have too fixed standards; children conform too greatly to those standards, and they come down to a deadly average. If you permit every boy to go three or more times every week to the movies, he is not going to be stirred up to action; he is going to be diverted from action, dependent on outside stimulus instead of on himself for his resources. If you let him listen in on radio,—if he does not make the radio machine himself—if he does it is fine, but if he does not and listens in every night,—he is going to be amused again by other people, and you are just killing the creative in him, and you are deadening him down or levelling him to the point to which most of our families are being levelled here in America, by giving them routine jobs, uninteresting things, the same thing to do day in and day out. I think that one striking thing that comes to us from these foreign families is the individuality of the members. There are talented members. There are persons with real taste among them, and we don't want to kill it out. We want to have such standards in our own American life. We need to believe in the possibilities of each individual, and when we are Americanizing our foreigners we want to make them believe in the possibilities of their chil-

dren, in the roundness and wholesomeness of their life, physical and mental, that there is a place for them, that they are no different from the children of the more well-to-do, that we have got faith in them, believe in them, believe in the service that they can render, not simply free service, but service in being true to themselves, true to their duties and their obligations. We want to teach self-reliance, thoroughness, straight thinking, doing things according to abilities. We want to teach reverence and faith. We want to have visions and high ideals. We cannot develop such in these families, we will only kill what there is in them, unless all of us outside these families have such faith and ideals for ourselves.

DISCUSSION

Bishop SLATTERY. After we sing a hymn the meeting will be open, and I hope that there will be speakers from the floor who are not only fathers and mothers but perhaps teachers, and that most observant part of a home, the maiden aunt.

Bishop PARKER. Mr. Chairman, I will start the ball rolling because Dr. Cabot has spoken of a thing which is a matter of very profound interest to me, the home life and the Americanization of the foreigner. I have come at it from the ecclesiastical end, doing what we could to keep up the religious life of people like Czecho-Slovakians, Armenians, and Greeks, but I want to say just this: that there is for us a splendid opportunity for personal work in the cultivation of personal friendships with different individual foreigners. I know quite well a Greek bootblack and his family, to whom I go to have my shoes shined, and I have talked politics with them. I have learned how to say Merry Christmas. And by the by, it is the most glorious Christmas greeting I know, Kalla Kristougena. "Noble and beautiful birthday of Christ"

is about the meaning of it. I got my Christmas card the other day from Bacillius, and my small girl tells me how Metaxia, his daughter, is doing in her class at school. But I want to speak of the almost limitless opportunity and the intense interest of personal friendship with one or another of some foreign race, and if we can follow that up by some knowledge of their background, and some knowledge of their history, and as little as I know of the modern Greek language, you have the most excellent opportunities for personal service and chances for the most intensely interesting experiences in life. I want to urge, Mr. Chairman, the delight and the privilege and the duty and the gain to oneself and the gain to others of personal friendship with some individual foreign family.

Mr. ADAMS. I wish to agree heartily with what the second speaker had to say in regard to the home. I feel deeply that we do not fully appreciate the foreigner and do as much for him as we can in the spirit that has been brought forward by the last two speakers. I am sorry the first speaker is not here, because there is something definite that I wished to say in regard to the statements that the first speaker made. We do not want to feel that we are so superior to-day as he tried to bring out in that discourse. We have got to allow the individual to be his own guide and to decide things for himself, and not try to bring everyone into one mould as we are trying to do to-day in Americanization. We believe each man is a free moral agent of God, and we should let him develop in his own way and not make him develop as we think he ought to develop.

Mr. CHIERA. I want to say simply that I am very grateful to Judge Cabot for what he has said. I am an Italian. You know lately we poor Italians have been tremendously abused, and by men who should have known better. I usually do not mention names, but you will excuse me if I dare to mention the name of Senator Johnson, who has

abused us up and down in every way. I was so glad to hear that we have some brains, that we are not imbeciles, and that there is a hope for us yet.

When I speak about my people they say, "The Italians are good people, yes, and they make good macaroni." I was speaking with a person who should have known a great deal better, and he was a bishop too, I am sorry to say. You will excuse me for saying that. He said, "I went into Italy, was in Naples, a beautiful city, and I went through the streets and there was the macaroni across from one wall to the other." I said, "Bishop, you found in Italy what you were looking for." It seems to me that oftentimes when we speak about our foreign element in our American cities you are apt to find only their defects, and I am so glad the Judge found some good things about us and about our homes, and our boys, and our mothers, and our fathers.

You know I have been eighteen years in this country, but I would not dare to write a book about you people, but you go to Italy for six months and write a book on me. I think it is a crime.

So I say I thank you for this good speech, and I hope the Lord will raise men and women who will have the same frame of mind to find, not the faults, because we have lots of them, all of us, but find the good which can be found in everybody. You know Jesus had that great vision, He could go about and find good in everyone. He could find that in everyone, and I hope you will be able to find some good in the Irish and also in the Italians.

Mr. O'Dwyer. Mr. Chairman, as he said that it stirred me. I am an Irishman, a son of Mother Church, and I came here thirty years ago. I have been in two wars since. I don't want to lose what my mother taught me. My mother taught me to love Mother Church. I don't want to gain some of the American standards, I want still to keep some of my Irish standards for the Church, to love God.

And I would like to say, just as the priest who spoke before said, that we are Irish. In the 137th Psalm it is said that the people of Israel when they were taken into captivity by the waters of Babylon sat down and wept, they wept when they remembered Zion—when they were asked to sing one of the songs of Zion. Well, we Irish here in Boston don't weep when we remember Ireland; we can sing the songs of Ireland, thank God, in every land.

Mr. ROSEWELL PAGE. What I was going to say was relative to the statement of our friend Mr. Drury. It was to tell of an incident that happened in the United States, not in the City of Boston. A gentleman was at the theatre door, waiting for his wife, when a big policeman drove a little fellow out, called him a Dago, and said that he was of a worthless tribe, he came of a worthless lot. The gentleman said to him, "Are you not speaking thoughtlessly?" He said, "No. What have they ever done?" And he said. "They have enlightened the world. Dante was an Italian." He said, "That was a long time ago." "Christopher Columbus was an Italian." "That was a long time ago." "Napoleon Bonaparte was an Italian." "That was a long time ago." "Marconi is an Italian." And the big policeman said, "You have got me." That was the late Ambassador to Italy.

Mr. PRIDDIS. There was just one point in Judge Cabot's speech which it seemed to me would be unfortunate if it were left uncorrected, that is, that we are rather ready to recommend four people in a bed for the purpose of developing resourcefulness. While I heartily agree that sometimes that is the result, it seems to me that our responsibility is not to look wistfully at that condition but rather to present and find some moral substitute for that thing in our more fortunate family life. I happen to be one of those who went to college with less than $100 in my pocket, and I was able to get through college and through seminary, but I certainly

would not recommend that we divest our young men of all of their money and send them to college on their own resources, because I know that men who had better advantages got more out of their college life than I did out of mine. It seems to me it would be exceedingly unfortunate if we were to let the impression stand that the ideal is deprivation to develop usefulness in our youth.

Canon LEWIS. Mr. Chairman, we have heard of the foreign-born in this country. We have heard of those far better placed. Judge Cabot gave a reference to the great mass, the humdrum, indifferent home life of the great bulk of our American families. May I ask if this group has considered at all the problem of how to change that condition, that there shall be with us the standards to which the Judge referred? Isn't the only way in which we can possibly do it that we shall try to bring home to the parents of the ordinary American family, that we ourselves shall try to bring home to the parents in the ordinary Church family to which we belong, their responsibility to put Christian standards of wholesome home living before them as the idea and the goal of their lives?

Bishop SLATTERY. If there are no further speakers I ask Judge Cabot if in five minutes he will close the discussion.

Judge CABOT. I should regret extremely if I had not made clear that it seems to me that it is an ideal that we should develop ourselves according to our best abilities, keep our bodies wholesome, our minds wholesome. I think, of course, we want to have all living conditions improved, so that it is possible for a boy and a girl to develop in a rounded, balanced manner.

I just want to add one thing with reference to what we ought to do about all these problems. What we try to do in court I am going to state to you, because it is a sample of what I think we should endeavour to do outside court. The court is obliged when putting a boy or girl on probation to

state in writing the requirements of that probation. They are stated in terms that are intended to appeal to a boy or girl who comes before the court. They are stated in positive terms, and not in negative terms. They are stated so as to bring out the qualities that I think we should aim for. I am going to read to you the terms of the probation, and then read the important thing, how to comply with those terms or how to win on probation.

The court has put you on probation to give you a chance to make good. You must use your best efforts to succeed in school and at work, at home and in church or temple, among your friends, and in your actions. The length of your probation depends upon yourself. If you win success, the court will end your probation. If you do not win, the court may send you away to be trained.

How to win on probation:

1. Keep yourself clean in body, mind, and habits, and win health, self-respect, and courage.
2. Keep good hours at meals in the day, and night, and win regular ways and vigor.
3. Keep friendly and helpful with your father, mother, brothers, and sisters, and win their pride in you and a happy home.
4. Keep active in games and in clubs in your playtime, and win leadership and loyalty.
5. Keep good company with friends and books, and win a vision of what can be done in the world.
6. Keep good attendance on every session of school, and win a high mark for effort.
7. Keep at work for regular hours every day, and win a place for yourself.
8. Keep strictly your religious duties, and win reverence and faith.
9. Keep the laws and the rules of the city, and win as a citizen.

It seems to me that if we keep in mind the principles that are involved in those different things we shall be doing something about making better citizens and bringing our boys and girls to fullness of life.

CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE

§ 3

EUGENICS

EUGENICS

By Robert P. Kreitler, D.D.

If there were demanded any excuse for the venture, which this is, into what appears to be a field quite apart from the interests of religion, one need only remind himself that the founder of the science of Eugenics, Sir Francis Galton, very clearly held the view that eugenic ideals would be at some time included within the teachings of religion. Not only did he believe that it was possible "to give the eugenic ideal the force and intensity of a religious ideal," but he also went so far as to state that "eugenics strengthens the sense of social duty in so many important particulars that the conclusions derived from its study ought to find a welcome home in every tolerant religion." He spoke of the creed of eugenics as being "a virile creed, full of hopefulness, appealing to many of the noblest feelings of nature." There are not a few in the ranks of Eugenics as in the field of evolution, who make strong pleas to the religious leaders of the world to become interested in this field. As of evolution, it may be said that eugenics is something "that has a specific delicate relation to religion, or at any rate to theology" (Kellogg).

Dr. Irving Fisher has said that in a sense "Eugenics is hygiene raised to the highest power." Galton's intention was to found a world movement to improve the human race by a scientific appreciation of the laws of heredity so that the desirable capacities of racial stock would be increased. Racial hygiene as someone called it, would direct attention to the social ideals that facilitate the matings of the fittest. Religion is or ought to be interested in racial hygiene.

Not the least indicative of the signs of the times is the trend of that watchful observation upon the actions and leadership of the Church afforded us in the great metropolitan dailies. It was an editorial writer of one such that declared, "Well it is that clergymen should accept and heed eugenic truths." No doubt this was based upon the belief that the clergy have an acknowledged opportunity to mould public opinion in so many directions, especially, perhaps, in that of education in the racial ideals affecting so deeply humanity. For example, educating the family to a recognition that we ought to rid ourselves of our worst inheritances and increase our best, particularly through the betterment of the human race by better matings; also, to the further recognition of the right of a child to be well born; along side of these, secure appreciation of those basic functions of society, as in sex and reproduction, among the youth of the Church, prior to marriage. It has been pointed out more than once that at the time of the religious crisis in the life of the Church's youth, for example at confirmation, when the adolescent is in great need of proper guidance, an instruction simple and clear in sex matters and what may well be termed eugenic principles and ideals, are part of the opportunity of the clergy.

Any clear cut diagnosis of present social ills and of the tendencies towards race decadence, of which there are many, offered us by the biologist and the sociologist, indicate a very much needed co-operation between the scientific student and the religious expert. It has been the particular business of the scientific student to search out the actual causes and effects, both of the ills and tendencies of the human race, with careful experiment and exact observation. It is to be hoped he will indicate where these facts are to be applied. The religious leader must know and understand these facts and must interpret them in the spirit and ideals of humanity. Science and religion need no longer even appear to be

antagonistic. If they will, they can take a new patron saint for both. Those who fare forth into the field of eugenics may recall that it was in the person of Mendel (as undoubtedly with others) a Roman monk, that there took place a happy reconciliation between science and religion. He made his studies in the laws of heredity a veritable means of grace. In a recent phrase, that bespeaks an appreciation of the trend of *social science,* this opportunity for reconciliation has been very definitely pointed to as a mark of our own day. Professor Ellwood has declared (in his new book "Christianity and Social Science"), "A new hope has come into the world—that science may unite with religion in the work of redeeming mankind; that thus we of this generation may discover a new 'synthesis of aspiration with knowledge.'" He frankly admits this hope is confined to a few "pioneering minds" in both religion and science. Quoting a school administrator, who has had some difficulties on account of the opposition to the teaching of the doctrine of evolution in the public schools, he adds, "I believe that when the Churches shall welcome whole-heartedly the scientist as an ally, we shall experience a religious revival such as the world has never seen before." He was in that specific instance thinking undoubtedly of social science as the natural ally of religion. Now, the science and art of eugenics have tremendous social implications. The discoveries the eugenist has made in the field of biology have forced him to see the social values of his studies. His knowledge, his programme, his aims and hopes all lead him to ask for the cooperation of every agency and institution interested in and devoted to the family, where the basic functions of civilization rest. The Church with her aspirations and ideals becomes a natural ally.

Let us remind ourselves here, that the Dean of St. Pauls' coined a description of eugenics, relating it to the life in which religion is deeply concerned; he said, "It was the

application of biological science to sociology." And let it also be remarked that in the light of what the scientist is discovering, by far the larger number of human problems are to be understood and appreciated in the light of the basic functions of sex, reproduction, and inheritance. The happiness of people, individually and collectively, the stability of civilization, the progress of society, the redemption of a vast wastage in human life, the increase of mental diseases through a high birth rate among a tainted population, the tendency towards the extinction of the stock of those best qualified to perpetuate high racial ideals, these and others are related to what has been called, "the unit of civilization"—the family, wherein the basic functions of sex and reproduction must be regarded from the highest viewpoint. It is Professor East (in his "Mankind at the Crossroads") who reminds us that "the fortunes of the nation or of the race are, after all, the sum total of the fortunes of the family." And the family ought to be discussed "sanely and objectively."

Now, religion, as expressed in Judaism and Christianity, has always been interested in the family. All religion has been concerned with marriage and parenthood, though sometimes the results have been far from the ideal. For centuries, the prerogative of celebrating the rite of marriage rested with the representative of religion. Religion has been one of the chief influences in Christian civilization to cultivate worthy deals of both marriage and parenthood. These ideals, and the customs which have been identified with them, inherited from the Jews, and made more attractive through the life and teachings of Christ, have held eugenic principles implicitly within them. Among the ancients, the Jews were conspicuous for the sanctity, the divine bases, they attached to marriage and childbirth. The Hebrew law touched these matters very definitely. The essential principles of sexual and racial hygiene, the sanctity of the human body, are present in the Scriptures, especially the Old Testament. Perhaps in

no other race did the selection of parents receive so much careful attention as among the Jews of pre-Christian history. The thought of the possibility of a messiah being born within any Jewish household indirectly stimulated selective mating to a high degree. Speaking with thoughtful remembrance of the divinity of the person of our Blessed Lord, may attention be called reverently and devoutly to what may be called certain eugenic implications of significance. Born of a race and a family that met every condition of select biological heredity, there is in His person a culmination of racial evolution with which no fault can be found. Perhaps if these were better understood there would be less opposition to the aims and hopes of the eugenist. It may also be pointed out that, as Dean Inge remarks, Christ's own teaching was very emphatic along the lines involved in the principle that we cannot gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles.

Useful distinctions sometimes create difficulties. More than one distinguished writer in the field of Eugenics has laid stress upon what has been termed "Galton's convenient antithesis,"—namely "Nature against Nurture." When Sir Francis Galton used that axiomatic phrase, "Nature against Nurture," it challenged attention. A whole new field of research was opened up, or new areas pointed to as of possible value. His antithesis served chiefly to draw attention to a sharp contrast between hereditary "nature" and environing "nurture" and their results in racial consequences. His distinctions, i.e. between the natural inheritance of men and the influences which play upon it, were much more precise than made by any previous writers, among whom both Shakespeare and John Knox may be included. In statistical proportions, these distinctions to such men as Professor Pearson were found to show nature five, possibly ten, times more important than nurture in determining the moral, intellectual and physical characteristics of the race.

But Galton's antithesis caused a suspicion that an antag-

onism existed between what the editor of the "Outline of Science" (Professor J. Arthur Thompson) terms, *"obviously complementary factors."* Now when the Church approaches the problem of eugenics either theoretically or practically, she has reasons, profound reasons, to be interested in it as *one* of these "obviously complementary factors." She is deeply concerned always in those influences which affect the welfare of the family, the home; all of the "rights" and their culture implicit in these are within her protecting, guiding thought. But she thinks of them as within a whole. She does not wish to be led astray either in the direction of Eugenics or Euthenics. The Church looks out on life as one great whole; the *unity of life* is the Church's proper battle cry. Therefore, the Church is not anxious to pit nature against nurture; yesterday against to-morrow; heredity against environment; innate and racial qualities against transitory influences; an individual conscience against a racial conscience. She regards them as complementary factors, within a view of life where there are no sealed compartments separated into overwhelming dominance; political, industrial, physical, mental, social, spiritual, each striving for a supremacy to the hurt of the others.

The fact is as Miss Richmond so clearly states in her admirable book on "What is Social Case Work?" "The more one reads on both sides of this subject the more evident it is that the relative importance of heredity and environment as factors in human welfare is still an unsettled question."

The conception of a "whole view of life" has aroused organized religion to a profound interest in the community, not only the contemporary community but the community of to-morrow, which in itself the speaker believes spells a helpful contribution to the eugenic programme. The biologist and the sociologist have been gathering much racial data of late concerning those who make up the community, and the Church finds herself compelled to view some of her own

redemptive work in society with this information in mind. A generation of research, the observations resulting from post-war conditions, etc., have helped considerably. Thus marriage, mating, birth rates, disease rates, death rates; economic questions of wage and hours; the squalor of poverty, the dire ills of sex violations and their frightful cost to the community, movements of peoples, especially as related to immigration; the ebb and flow of population from rural to urban life; war and its effect upon births and population, not only upon nations and upon individuals but vice versa; education in sex, rational selective parenthood;—these and other elements of breeding or culture present vital race problems and hence are found to have a definite value for the Church as she makes her own contributions to social progress. All of them, let it be definitely remembered, have some relation to the basic functions of sex and reproduction. They either help or betray the perpetual interests of humanity; they threaten or stabilize the perpetuity of the human race. They indicate frankly the necessity for the Church to recognize her duty to the child of the next century, by being as intelligent a guide as she can be in these matters, to his ancestors and their culture in this century. A serious responsibility is laid upon the present by the future. The twenty-first century boy ought to have a "right start in life," now if possible, when the start in largest measure, if we accept the figures of the eugenist, begins.

I am fully cognizant of the fact that Eugenics is principally a biological science—that when a child is conceived "the gates of heredity are closed." After that, so far as control is concerned, the child's development, education, and betterment is a matter of environment. But Eugenics is a broad and seemingly inclusive science. If Dr. Fisher declares it to be "hygiene raised to the highest power" (and we think of it as racial hygiene), it is something in which the Church is deeply concerned. He speaks of eugenics as "simply the hy-

giene of the future generations." Professor East's suggestion, that Havelock Ellis's use of the word eugenics, making it synonymous with "social hygiene" gives it a scope that touches our social life in every phase, raising questions of race tendencies, either of degeneracy or progress and of social policy of a definite character. The speaker is, of course, aware of the significance of the term "social hygiene" which would make the science of eugenics but a division of its own broad field. But a survey of race conditions as is presented in East's "Mankind at the Crossroads," will make one "astounded at the breadth of the action the subject of eugenics invites." To him, eugenics becomes "the sine qua non" of the whole social system. It is a subject which raises the grave question as to whether civilization is to grow better or worse. The truth of this is evident in that sex and reproduction tie up organically with the most that is in our social life.

Thus eugenics may be regarded as one great part of the problem of racial hygiene. Those interested need not fear the accusation of "faddist," or "stud farm methods," "impious," "absurd," or "unnecessary," from unsympathetic and sometimes unintelligent catapults, ecclesiastical or otherwise. "It is often a misfortune for any good movement to become a fad" (Holmes). So serious are the problems with which society is faced, as any crowded thoroughfare in any community will show, no matter how casual the observations, that those who would see better types of men and women multiplied can afford to bear ridicule and misunderstanding. Those whose knowledge of human heredity is at all certain know there are several forms of human ills, which could be reduced by restrictive measures. More and more it is seen, civilization is not to be gauged by the increase in its census totals, nor in the per capita wealth of the individuals counted in mathematical columns, rather, in the quality of the men and women such a civilization produces and brings to full culture.

Eugenics, definitely concerned with the right of the child to be well born, necessarily is basically concerned with the selection of mates and marriage, and with the relation of the sexes, and with the manifold problems touching these relations. That physical health, indicative of moral health, as a prerequisite to matrimony should be demanded on the part of society in order to protect itself is not new. Said one of the Governors of the State of Indiana, "The State should exercise the right of preventing the contract of marriage between persons manifestly unfit to assume its obligations and particularly of such marriages as insure the propagation of the defective who are certain to become a charge on the State." The power to control or regulate the marriage of its domiciled citizens is one which every sovereign nation in the civilized world exerts. "Society has a right," says Justice Winslow, "to protect itself from extinction and its members from a fate worse than death." The passage of laws concerning consanguinity and affinity have not only been canonical laws, but of the State. It is to be feared, however, that until recently racial results in offspring were not in mind when legal restrictions, relating to mental capacity, age, race, and consanguinity were enacted into law. It is also true, Professor Holmes remarks, that "people and especially the American people are naturally hostile towards any system which would impose restrictions or regulation of freedom of marriage." He reminds us they are just "resentful."

That the Church is interested on the part of the State to enact a so-called "eugenic" or "sanitary" marriage law ought to go without saying. Though there has been opposition from at least two directions, one from those who feared "stock yard methods" and the wizardry of Burbank were to be extended to human beings; and from the other, from those who are quite sure that "Episcopalian ministers, interfering as usual in what does not concern them" had forgotten

the right of every individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

However, several things are clear. Both from recent observation and experience it may be well to admit that the tendency of legislation in the several states, where "eugenic marriage laws" have been placed upon the statute books, has been fairly wholesome, but too great dependence must not be put upon legislation to achieve reform. Nor is it wise to forget that posterity has little interest to the politician; posterity has no votes. The purpose of the "eugenic laws" hitherto passed in the several states must be kept in mind. (The laws of nine such States have been examined.) Primarily they are concerned with the prevention of marriage between persons infected with one or other of the social diseases. It is these diseases which have profound bearing upon the happiness of home life and culture of children. As with enactments relating to common law and "secret" marriages, these laws all have a direct bearing upon the eugenic problem. The difficulties in administering such laws are great, the expense to the individual and the state, the lack of trained examiners, the publicity involved, the suspicion cast on the person seeking marriage license, will have to be overcome one by one. This type of law has also been nullified, largely through evasions by those who would escape their provisions. No one ever admits any disqualifications mentioned in the requirements of license courts. Evasion is especially practiced by passing over into neighbouring states, possessing no such restrictions, where officials benefiting by the fees wink at the violation of the laws whatever their character.

One cannot escape the thought that some of those in whose hands the moral leadership of the community rests aid altogether too often in making state line towns a rendezvous for those who would escape the marriage laws of an eugenic significance. It has been declared that ministers of certain

types themselves refuse to give up a lucrative practice to which they are authorized by license from the State upon which the consequences rest. In several states the laws have been practically set aside through the failure to apply their provisions to men and women alike. The moral and spiritual effect of poor marriage laws is execrably bad. Yet if there have been any salutary effects from the existence of such statutes, and there have been, no doubt, good results not to be tabulated in mere figures, they have come mainly through the prevention of or hesitation to contract hasty and unwise, illegal and immoral, disease-ridden marriages, largely through their educational effects. I am well aware of the opposition of certain State authorities to "eugenic" laws; they hoping for an enlightened and quickened public conscience to bring reforms to pass.

Here religion has a clear and unmistakable contribution to offer. It should support whole-heartedly every effort of social workers, state officials, and the medical profession with other like-minded persons to prevent certain kinds of marriages. The Church should aid any movement that looks towards the publication of intention to marry; a reasonable number of days, possibly five or even more, as Dr. Potter of the Welfare Board of Pennsylvania suggests, being necessary before a license may be issued. Dr. Adolf Meyer, of Johns Hopkins says, "Is it asking too much in Uncle Sam's type of free country to have the sense of the people so roused that they prefer to have their personal freedom guided by *three weeks* of calm consideration rather than by the mere passion of a moment of false romanticism?"

Professor J. Arthur Thompson pointedly reminds us, "One may not look forward with enthusiasm to demanding marriage permits, or passing a marriage examination, or appearing before a peripatetic, matrimonial tribunal, with the family doctor as assessor, yet there is terrible tragedy in sowing tares in a wheatfield."

It is the testimony of one well acquainted with the marriage laws of the country, that the clergy of the Episcopal Church have taken a definitely advanced step and actually live up to marriage ideals, often beyond those of the statutes themselves.

Both as a biological and a sociological problem there is one unquestioned fact confronting every agency dealing with humanity, in its strength as well as in its weakness; namely, the need for suppression of one or two per cent of tainted humanity polluting the stream of racial life. That the undesirable elements in society should be reduced is fundamental. The desirability of a limitation of the fecundity of mediocrity, just because that fecundity touches the tax rates and is ruinously expensive, is of course more easily understood. It touches the pocket book of every man, woman, and child in each and every commonwealth, and thus can be regarded as a personal matter. The Jukes, the Tribes of Ishmael, the Kallikaks, and their like, lay a burden upon every citizen in the commonwealth. That marriage should be permitted to paupers, delinquents, syphilitic, moral perverts, chronic inebriates, drug habitués, degenerates of nameless vices, and those of criminal tendencies, is becoming unthinkable to a large and increasing number of some commonsensed people. (In syphilitic marriages the story of one is a twice-told tale for the many, i.e., in one such case where five children were born, the first was a monstrosity, the second and third were stillborn, the fourth an imbecile, the fifth feeble-minded. The husband became a deserter, the children are in an institution, the woman wholly dependent.) Here it is evidently true beyond any doubt if we do not know for what we want to breed, "we know very well the kind of people we do not want."

The speaker has lived in an industrial region, the heart of the great Anthracite coal field, for twelve years, where a cross section of American life, infiltrated with some thirty

nationalities has enabled him to make a study of the eugenic problem in some of its practical phases. His experience has been such as to make him believe that the Church has through the clergy at least an opportunity to join hands with the biologist and the sociologist, the economist and the statesman, in fact whosoever is interested in the welfare of civilization and the race, and in the happiness of individuals and the family, in supporting a eugenic programme in the broadly inclusive field of social (racial) hygiene.

There is a series of "encouragements" the clergy may well undertake, especially, in the sphere of education in the ideals, hopes, and aims of eugenics. Be it noted that everything indicates legislation is not going wholly to solve the problem with which the scientist, the educator, the religious leader are confronted. Legislation has its limitation. Among the "encouragements" are to be included the education of the moral sense of young people in the primary problems which are involved in marriage; such are the lifting of the veil of mystery and of shame from the relations of the sexes, working as it does an education of the child in sex matters, the necessity of right mating, with the social and racial consequence of mismating frankly acknowledged. The deep social importance of marriage and generation, producing either the best or the worst results for the community, must be driven home. Courtship should be encouraged under those conditions that make for happy, normal relations between men and women, determined to build good homes. There is one organization within the Episcopal Church, the Church Mission of Help, committed to such a programme. Keenly interested in the unmarried mother and the problems before and after the birth of her child, the Church Mission of Help has been brought face to face with eugenic data, which when collected for a period long enough, and having covered enough of a variety of cases, ought to add valuable information to the general problem.

The religious leaders of the nation may now call to their aid the help of an agency doing valiant work in the whole field of purely social hygiene, viz. The American Social Hygiene Association. This organization has pointed out the need of a higher general standard of education in and diffusion of a strong sense of obligation towards the whole problem of sex and reproduction from early childhood onward.

Among other "encouragements" to be mentioned are pride of race; pride in basic home life, in securing and maintaining eugenical family archives, to pursue and work out geneological and biographical material for records of family traits; pride in wholesome children; pride in healthy bodies, healthy minds, and the like. An equal standard of chastity is a biological necessity as well as a moral requirement. The time may come sooner than we expect, when it may not seem inadvisable for those applying for a marriage license to present such medical evidence as will assure society it is not threatened by a perpetuation of mental deficiencies. The programme of the psychiatrist should be appreciated as having in it elements of importance to every religious leader, as touching not only the individual but great groups in our social life. Thus, the subject of mental hygiene has its place. No one can study the figures the war forced to our attention without the realization that a whole series of sex infractions were due to a lack of control. The weakening of the instinctive tendency to modesty among women, a particular manifestation of our day, is in large measure a problem of mental hygiene and hence of moral control, with which religion is, of course, concerned.

The fact that the old-fashioned family physician is slowly disappearing and the doctors are more and more "experts," leaves the parish priest and minister the sole confidant and guide of the home and family life. A greater burden has thus been laid upon the clergy; but they are thus offered an unusual opportunity for a great service to the cause of eugen-

ics and sex—social understanding. The ministry has always had an intimate relation to the family life of the people of the Church. This relation may be of inestimable value because of its influence upon sex education, proposed marriages, and preparation for marriage of their children. The clergy have a distinct challenge in the opportunity to dissuade from unfit marriages, also to encourage those who would build healthy, happy homes. They might very well adopt the custom of one who advocates the query in the solemn hour of the marriage ceremony—"do you want this man (or this woman) and no other to be the father (or mother) of your children?" By such a frank and pointed question can the double problem of health and parental responsibility be brought home to those involved in the marriage. The clergy have been in innumerable instances case workers in the field of marriage; they would do well to enlarge their training by anything and everything the student and worker either in the field of pure biology or sociology can offer, to make them more effective. The studies of families should be encouraged, both those producing defective children and those of strong and healthy stock. A conclusion of importance from one whose social sense is strong is that "marriage laws of any State are ignored and disobeyed in direct proportion to the lack of publicity from which they have suffered."

New possibilities are extended to the Church because of her interest in the immigrant. The eugenic welfare of our own future as a nation is at stake in an unrestricted immigration. It has been declared that "it is no charity to extend the opportunities of living here to the failures of the old world." Intimate religious contacts with the immigrant may be the means of determining the racial value of the stock seeking to become part of our national life. Because of her links with the past the Church may be able to educate her own constituency to assist the commonwealth to a wise course of action.

In conclusion, as says Major Leonard Darwin, "We of this generation are absolutely responsible for the production of the next generation and therefore of all mankind in the future; and to make every citizen realize his great responsibility in all things connected with marriage, to make him feel this as a deep-seated sentiment greatly affecting his actions—this is the Eugenic ideal."

The Church need not lessen her own growing enthusiasm for environmental reform in any interest she may show in the eugenic programme. It is of course the easier task in the former; the latter by comparison takes a large imagination. The Church has been more conscious of late that the social environment registers the things of the spirit. It may be that she will find it more and more possible to supply a motive power to the scientific spirit of the day. She has many things implicit in her history and teachings to suggest it. The emphasis upon the worth of personality, the treasure without price, inherent in Christianity, may again and again be stressed in a progress towards racial health and wealth.

The last word that may be said is that of a great hope, viz., that in an intelligent, enlightened public conviction, an education in the primary things, like honesty of purpose, purity, and control, lie the direction of real advance. Religion has its great opportunity here. It must direct attention to the danger of a "physically fit" race only; (of course, in a broadly inclusive conception of eugenics, such an ideal is not contemplated). No race is fit that is spiritually, mentally, morally sterile. The chiefest antidote for degeneration is regeneration. The Church has the real answer to the question, "How much better is a man than a sheep." Science is and must be impersonal. Religion must give science aim and motive.

EUGENICS

By Howard J. Banker, M.D.

APPROACHING the subject of marriage from the standpoint of a biologist it is to be expected that we should lay emphasis upon the fact that the human being is a living organism. I will not say an animal for he is more than that. As the animal must be distinguished from the plant though both are living organisms, so likewise must the human be distinguished from the purely animal. Bergson [2] has pointed out this distinction and emphasized that the difference between man and the animals "is no longer one of degree, but of kind." Biologists have often sought to define the living thing as simply a very complex mechanism, but a persistent sense of inadequacy leads them to qualify that bald assertion by saying, a mechanism that is self-operative, renews itself and perpetuates its kind, and Dr. Vernon Kellogg has added, "A machine that once stopped cannot be set going again." Likewise, though we attempt to define man as an animal a sense of insufficiency constrains us to add, an animal that rises into the realm of free intelligence with a consciousness of moral responsibility and driven by the tremendous impulse of spiritual ideals. He is, therefore, the only organism capable of sin, and in this terrible prerogative lies the supreme glory of the creature. On the one side man is of "the earth earthy," but on the other he partakes of "the heavenly." Lost like an atom in the spaces of a limitless universe, he grasps the conception of an incomprehensible Creator and moral Governor of an infinite cos-

mos, bows before Him in willing and humble adoration or shakes his puny fist in the face of the Eternal and defies the laws of God and man. It is not, therefore, possible to effect the moral redemption of the race through eugenics. The only way to breed sin out of the world is to propagate the feeble-minded.

The biologist, by his methods and material, is almost wholly confined to the physical aspects of the human organism, and he is profoundly impressed by the evidences of its continuity with the phylogenetic universe. The philosopher, and especially the mystic, has been absorbed in the contemplation of the soul straining upward towards the realization of its spiritual ideals. Between the two stands the subject, man, with the practical problems of his existence pressing fiercely upon him, his total nature crying out for both physical and spiritual satisfaction. It is the place of the human being as something more than animal yet not wholly spirit that I have tried to emphasize, for it is a point too often ignored in the discussion of our subject.

Eugenics has sometimes been defined in terms of the stock farm, and works have been published whose inspiration was the method and ideals of the horse and cattle breeder. This is not only offensive to human culture but is utterly at variance with the complete nature of the creature and the ultimate goal of human attainment. Theoretically, if we ignore all but the purely animal elements of the human being, it cannot be denied that man might be bred to a given type just as we breed a racehorse or a Jersey cow, but practically it is impossible and as an ideal it is undesirable.

To breed demands first, the definite conception of an improved type; second, the directing will of a competent mind; third, material that is subject to the complete and absolute control of the breeder. To state thus formally the requirements is to emphasize the impossibility of the task. How

shall we devise and agree upon the type of this superior being? The world has conceived one such; He is humanly incomprehensible and has been rejected of many. Where is the mind competent to direct the plan? It would require infinite knowledge and infinite skill, none less than the master mind which has guided the unfolding of the universe throughout the æons of time. As to the last requirement what shall we say? Viewed as a purely human problem it is self-contradictory. Where is to be found material subject to the necessary control? Our nearest approach to it is the idiot and the imbecile.

Aside from the practical impossibilities, the goal of the breeder is not the ideal for man. R. Ruggles Gates [7] has emphasized the fact that "Eugenics aims, not to establish and improve a single type, as in breeding, for example, racehorses, but at the infinitely more complex result of improving innumerable more or less interbreeding strains simultaneously, breeding out their more defective members, or qualities, and at the same time maintaining the diversity of types in the whole population." Not the development of a type or even types of men but a better biologic inheritance for all of us, that is, for the race, is the end for which Eugenics may legitimately strive. Not the fanciful evolution of some imaginary superior race so much as the right of every child to be well-born should be the ideal of the Eugenics programme. A sound mind in a sound body, the same goal towards which personal hygiene, mental hygiene, sex hygiene are directed, is the immediate end of Eugenics. As the hygienic sciences seek to build up competent human lives, Eugenics endeavours to supply sound biologic foundations and materials out of which the best lives may be constructed. It has to do only with inherited traits and characteristics, that is, fundamentally with the constitution of the germ-plasm, and with the forces and agencies which may in any way modify or affect

the distribution of the elements which are distinctive of that marvellous stream that has flowed down to each one of us in unbroken continuity from the dawn of time.

In our present understanding of biological science the only point at which we may touch this life stream and in any definite way affect its character or control its destiny is at the point of the confluence of two branches, or the point of mating, known in human relations as marriage. Here and here only it is possible for us within certain limits to designedly vary or modify the constitution of the germ-plasmic stream by affecting in some degree the distribution, or more strictly speaking, the combination of its elements.

There is some evidence, not always conclusive, that it is possible to effect distinctly inheritable changes in the germ-plasm by the operation of external agents, but the nature of these changes is little known, they are not under definite control, and so far are always destructive never constructive. There is not the slightest experimental hint or intimation of the possibility that we can by any method induce the formation within the germ-plasm of a new, distinct and transmissible character-affecting element.[1] The solution of this problem seems just as remote to-day as is that of spontaneous generation. Michael F. Guyer,[10] whose work on induced heredity has been especially conspicuous, has ventured the remark, "If we may have germinally destructive constituents engendered in the blood there is no valid reason for supposing that we may not also have constructive ones." The weakness of this argument is too obvious to require comment, but it serves to confirm my previous statement. Even if the optimistic scientist in his speculative moments may venture to take a flying leap, it is better for the rest of us in our practical affairs to wait until the bridge is built before we venture to cross the gulf.

We must say, therefore, that only at the crossroads where

[1] See references 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12.

the life streams mingle can we divert the currents to definite ends. It is at this point that the breeder directs his attention and selects his matings with a view to the reassortment of the germ-plasmic constituents for his purposes. But, as we have seen, human marriage cannot be controlled from the breeder's standpoint, nor can it be determined by purely biological ends. Marriage is not simply for the regulation of sexual relations nor is it solely a means for the propagation of the species. Nevertheless, for the attainment of the highest purposes of life and human development the biological consequences of marriage cannot be ignored any more than we can be indifferent to questions of diet, of intellectual culture, or of moral ideals.

The science of human genetics should be cultivated assiduously that we may be informed as to its laws and its possibilities just as we need to know the laws of health and of social relations that we may live happily and efficiently. These laws then need to be disseminated and people educated as to their significance. Out of this will grow a sentiment, a social ideal, and a standard of living which the more intelligent and idealistic will strive to realize in its fulness and to which others will be constrained to conform within practical limitations. What those limitations may be can be determined only by trial and experience. In other words, the practical application of eugenics to human affairs is to be worked out on precisely the same principles as the application of the laws of hygiene and sanitation.

Our first and most important work then is to determine as definitely as possible the fundamental laws of heredity and how their operation may be affected by social or other agencies. In this direction but little progress has been made as compared with the vast extent of the problem that lies before us, but that little is of great significance. For reasons which I do not need to discuss the human is the most difficult of all organisms for the study of heredity and would be cast

aside as useless for the purpose if it were not that man's heredity is specifically of such vital importance to us. Difficult and unsatisfactory as much of the work is, there are some facts of which we are reasonably sure. Many of our individual traits and characteristics are fundamentally determined by the constitution of the germinal substance organized within our parents and from which we derive our personal being. Whatever other inheritance we may have from this source, it is certain that many of our traits are the final expression in the developing organism of the vital activities of certain probably definitely located centres within the germplasm designated as genes, and that in the parental organization of the primal germ cell these genes are segregated, assorted and recombined in a certain orderly manner known as Mendelism.

A technical description of the process would exceed the scope of this paper, and I presume you are somewhat familiar with it. A point that I do wish to emphasize is that in the recombination the genes from each parent come together in pairs affecting like parts of the developing organism. They may be alike in kind tending to produce like effects, that is, they are homozygous or they may be unlike tending to produce unlike and often opposite effects, that is, they are heterozygous. In the latter case the mature organism may display the trait induced by one of the genes, the effect of the other being suppressed or as we say recessive, or the combined effect may be intermediate or different from that of either of the genes acting alone. Whatever the effect on the organism, the genes themselves evidently undergo no change and when segregated and recombined in a different order in the next generation may each produce its own specific effect.

At present the only form of heredity which has a well-formulated theory is Mendelian heredity. There may be other forms of heredity. We do not know. There is a vast

accumulation of undoubtedly hereditary characteristics in plants, animals, and man which is as yet unclassified, but it seems probable that the bulk of this may be reduced eventually to Mendelian terms. If it cannot be thus disposed we do not now know where it is to be placed.

There are probably thousands of hereditary human traits. H. H. Laughlin [11] has enumerated 160, most of which are departures from the normal condition. About a hundred seem capable of Mendelian interpretation but in most of these the method of inheritance is not definitely determined. Of the few traits whose inheritance is fairly well understood, a number are of trivial consequence, such as eye-colour, hair-colour, and Hapsburg lip; others, at the worst, are merely unpleasant deformities or inconveniences, as polydactylism, colour-blindness, and congenital ptosis, or drooping of the eyelid; while a few are more or less serious in their effect, as hemophilia, Huntington's chorea, and congenital cataract. It is in respect to such serious traits as the latter especially that intelligent people having a sense of moral responsibility should give careful consideration before encouraging or contemplating a marriage the consequences of which may be so definitely indicated. The wilful transgression of a known law especially if it brings upon others wretchedness and woe can be accounted only as a sin; nor can any amount of romantic love atone for the sin against one's offspring.

Besides those traits the law of whose inheritance our researches have fairly definitely determined, there are many others of which we can affirm little more than the fact of inheritance. Conspicuous among these are those traits which have to do with man's mental characteristics and his creative powers which make possible the musical genius and the artist, the poet, philosopher and statesman, the inventor, the masterful executive, and the far-visioned philanthropist, and the lack or perversion of which gives us the feeble-minded,

the delinquent, and the demented. Why we are able to make so little progress in the analysis of the heredity of these important characteristics is easily explained. We are here dealing not only with the exceedingly complex and illusive phenomena of mentality but we are dealing with it in its highest development, which is exclusively a human characteristic, and, as we have said, man is the most unfavourable of all organisms for the study of heredity by our present methods.

We are not greatly concerned over the heredity of genius. We are doing fairly well and we can afford to wait for the superman. I have already pointed out the impracticability of attempting to breed that figment. It is evident, however, that in the fact of heredity of feeble-mindedness and of many neuropathic defects there are involved conditions of the most serious personal and social consequences. These mental phenomena, both in their manifestations and in the apparent form of their heredity, seem to indicate a lack, a loss, or a degeneration of the highest and most distinctive characteristics of the human. Intelligence declines, moral sensibilities become degraded, and ideals sink into the welter of animalism. It is reversion towards the lower type, and if, with this decline of the human, possibly this depletion of genes that make for the operation of the higher faculties, there could be a recovery of the discarded genes for animal instincts we might have the restoration of the beast. As it is we have, or approach, a human monstrosity neither man nor brute.

These unfortunate defectives often reproduce themselves. What they do not have they cannot contribute. If they marry among themselves they beget their kind, if they marry the more highly endowed their defective traits appear to become recessive. The offspring are to this extent heterozygous. They may be better than the inferior parent but probably will not equal the superior. Within themselves

they carry equally the good and the bad and distribute these qualities indiscriminately to the next generation.

With defective mentality goes lack of responsibility, and on the better endowed members of society must rest the added burden not only of caring for these unfortunates but also of determining to what extent they may propagate their defects. As in a large city the pestilence that breeds in the slum may spread and invade the avenues of wholesome homes, so the heritable defects and degeneracy propagated among the Jukes, Ishmaels, and Nams may spread under a heterozygous cloak until it becomes the heritage of the sons and daughters of the most highly endowed. The remedy in the one case is to clean up the slum. Likewise the remedy in the other is to deter the responsible and prevent the irresponsible from propagating manifestly pernicious and inheritable defects. In other words, the individual, man or woman, who is the victim of an inherited defect that makes life a burden to himself or renders him a menace to society should become the terminus of that line of descent. This is the natural method.

The principle has long been recognized and practiced to some extent, but only recently have we come to realize its great importance or sought to work it out in any effective way, chiefly because it was not clear what constituted inheritable defects or how they were inherited. The recent progress in eugenics has furnished some reasonable basis for intelligent action.

The pruning off of the defective germ plasm as suggested is applicable only when the defect displays itself in some individual. Many defects, and especially those that have to do with mental degeneracy, appear to be recessives. This would seem to be natural, for a vital defect of dominant type would be so constantly exposed to nature's pruning knife that it would soon be eliminated, but if it is a recessive trait it could be carried for generations concealed beneath the

dominant mate and thus spread widely through the population. At first its presence might be unsuspected, but as it spread more and more widely there would arise more frequent instances of the marriage of two persons each carrying the trait when it would be almost sure to appear in some of their offspring. It is conceivable that a time might come when almost every marriage would produce some defective individuals. It seems probable that this actually occurs in some isolated communities. The Jukes at the time they were first discovered and studied by Dugdale [3] would appear to have been such a community in which degeneracy under a favouring environment had gone to seed.

When later the group was studied by Estabrook,[5] he found that economic conditions had broken up the isolation and that some moving away had married into better stocks and, with a better environment, the level of intelligence and efficiency had in such lives materially improved. This seemed a relief. Some felt that here was the remedy and that this distressing social sore might be healed, but it is an open question whether the disease has not simply been scattered and is spreading its cancerous growth within the social body to break out later at various foci, where local conditions are favourable. In the meantime no one can tell who may be infected.

How, then, as a race shall we cleanse ourselves of this inwrought evil? On the assumption that we are dealing with a form of Mendelian heredity, and that is the only kind of heredity that we know anything about, it is to be observed that our great problem is with the recessive defect and with this defect because it is commonly concealed. In the human, owing to the lack of complete pedigrees and because it is not possible to make experimental tests by controlled matings, the distribution of the recessive defect can rarely be traced and its presence is revealed only at sporadic intervals by some unfortunate chance marriage. Now we have seen that when the

recessive defect is concealed in the organism it is because it is genetically paired with its opposing or dominant mate or allelomorph, that is, it is heterozygous. If now the organism were homozygous we should have either both of the paired genes dominant, in which case, being non-defective, no defect could be transmitted, or we should have both genes recessive and the defect would be revealed in the organism and if sufficiently serious its further inheritance could be terminated.

From extensive work on lower forms it has been shown that close in-breeding renders them more and more homozygous for all characters.[4, 13] It is the principle on which the breeder depends to fix desirable traits and to maintain the purity of his breed. It is also employed by the geneticist to insure the constancy and homozygous character of the forms used for his experiments. It would seem, therefore, that geographical isolation or those social influences, laws, ideals, and sentiments which serve to restrict marriage within the ethnic race, within the clan, the family, or other relatively small group, combined with measures to insure the termination of vitally defective germ plasm when revealed, would tend to purify such groups of their hereditary defects and to conserve and fix the desirable traits.

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DISCUSSION

Mr. WORMAN. There are quite a number of people who say that industry, eugenics, and such things, are none of the business of the Church, and the Church had better keep her hands off and attend to her own spiritual work. I just want to bear witness to what I feel is the business of the Church, and that is, anything that affects human beings physically, mentally, and morally, is the business of the Church, and decidedly so. One great trouble is that the Church has neglected her business all too long in some of these great matters.

Just one other idea. There is a certain group of people who say that "born of the Virgin Mary" was included in

the creeds because it was taught among the Jewish people that normal relations between the sexes, *per se,* were sinful, and therefore our Lord could not have been born in the normal way, that he must have been born of a virgin. Dr. Drown has shown very clearly,—and I think we all have tremendous respect for the integrity of Dr. Drown as a scholar and a teacher,—he has shown distinctly and definitely in his class,—that the Jews did not teach any such thing, that they did not hold that this relation was sinful in itself, and therefore that theory concerning the cause of the virgin birth could not be held and was not valid. The service of purification of the Jews, he said, was because the Jews feared that at the time of birth evil influences of some kind affected the mother. So I think we can have this little idea cleared up in our minds and feel that all of these things are indeed the business of the Church.

Dr. WORCESTER. The subject of course is too technical and too great for one who is only an amateur, if he can call himself even that much in this subject, to speak at all. One or two things occurred to me that, inasmuch as nobody who was better informed seemed inclined to speak, I thought I might possibly call attention to.

One is a statement of Dr. Kreitler's in regard to the Jews and to the great effect that their unusual laws in regard to life have had upon their destinies. My authorities on that subject, of course, are rather old, but I think of Johann Ranke and his great work on men, and also Sir Richard Burton's statement that the vital statistics of the Jews have always differed from those of the nations among which they found themselves, that their birth rate is greater, their longevity is greater, and that they are spared some of the diseases that other people suffer from. We cannot help noticing, in the New Testament times, what Dr. Kreitler said about the noble heredity of Jesus and John the Baptist in one generation, so beautiful and highly inspiring, and yet the picture

of life that we see at that time shows a certain deep degeneracy in the large number of persons possessed with devils and epilepsy and other similar forms of mental, social, and psychical disease and disturbance.

One great characteristic of great peoples, I believe, is the purity of their blood. That is one of the questions that we are thinking of to-day but that we have done nothing at all to solve. The great nations of the past that have possessed a great national and racial consciousness, like the Hebrews and the Greeks and the Romans, though they were not pure in the sense of springing from only one stock, represented allied bloods of nations who were not very far removed, and having once established those strains they kept them in great purity for a great many years. That probably was one of the chief sources of their permanence and the great contributions which they have rendered to mankind. Such a racial consciousness becomes like a second conscience and a man's soul.

Another thing that struck me very forcibly was Dr. Kreitler's reference to the finality of change after conception has taken place, and I wonder very much if we really know enough about that subject to be sure of it. We see, for instance, this, at all events, among our children as they grow up: the appearance and the disappearance of certain qualities and traits which remind us now of one member of the family or of one ancestor, and then that personality which was dominant for a year or two appears to subside and another one emerges. It is as if there were a number of latent personalities within us, and out of those only one ultimately emerges. Now, if we knew more how the soul is transmitted from generation to generation we might be in a better position to speak of these things. It is very easy, of course, to ignore that and say that the soul is not transmitted, it is only the germ plasm which is transmitted, and yet anyone who thinks philosophically at all realizes that in

that marvellous work of construction, that wonderful building up of differentiation and formation of various organs, this spirit is there all the time and is doing the work. Where did that spirit come from? Is it directly the spirit of the father and the mother? Is it the spirit of the father or of the mother? Is it the spirit of some old ancestor who has taken a look in, as it were, at this time? However it may be, we shall never be perfect biologists until we come to some understanding as to how the soul is transmitted at all.

Mr. GILBERTSON. Some historians have made something of the dis-genetic influence of the clerical celibacy and monasticism in relation to war, and undoubtedly this has been exaggerated by some anti-clerical writers. I read a statement the other day, the author of which I now forget, but which I think is generally accepted by modern history, that higher education in America costs racially, from a dis-genetic point of view, as much as a first class war. I just bring up that subject as one on which Dr. Banker, I think, can speak. I should like to have him, if he will, either now or in his summary, refer especially to the phase which is opened by that question.

Bishop SLATTERY. If there are no other speakers I shall, then, call upon Dr. Kreitler and Dr. Banker to sum up the discussion, each in five minutes.

Dr. KREITLER. I want to emphasize that there is a very definite relation, apparently, as one looks out upon it, between the problem of immigration into this country and the eugenic welfare of the future, and one rather likes to assent to the statement that it is no charity to extend the opportunities of living in this country to the failures, the diseased failures, of the old world. I would like to answer Dr. Worcester, but feel that this is a question purely for the biologist, and I will ask Dr. Banker to include that, perhaps, in his own summing up. I took the statement that I made from a noted biologist, and though I may have given it the accent and

emphasis of finality I will admit that it is one of those things which Dr. Worcester says quite rightly we know so little about that we make the statement because of that testimony which has been handed to us by a variety of authorities, and not knowing contrariwise we leave it there.

I want to make a final statement, and this is the last word, that of a great hope, that in intelligent and enlightened public education, and education in the primary things like honesty of purpose, purity, and control, lie the direction of real advance, and religion has its opportunity. It must direct attention to the raising of a physically fit race. No race is fit that is spiritually, mentally, and morally sterile. The cheapest antidote for degeneration is regeneration.

Dr. BANKER. In the remarks that were made by Dr. Worcester I was impressed with the emphasis that was laid upon the technicality of the subject. You will pardon me if I say that from my standpoint it does not seem to me that homozygous is any more technical than homoöusion. I am afraid you might have difficulty in making me comprehend the latter if I have had any difficulty in making you comprehend the former.

The question was raised in respect to the influence of higher education and its disastrous effects or its dis-genetic effects as compared with war. Of course it seems to me very simple to see how that is brought about. It is not evident, necessarily, that higher education is dis-genetic. The facts, however, remain as we find: that our highly educated people, the people who have gone through our higher institutions of learning, are not reproducing themselves. That has been emphasized and re-emphasized until I do not need to mention it again. What is the reason for that is another question. Whether it is the effect of the higher education or not is disputed. I am of the opinion that it is not the effect of the higher education. I have myself published a study of that sort on a co-educational college and emphasized what I

consider to be the fact, that the institution—higher institution—selected its people from a class in society which are failing as a whole, whether they go to college or not, to maintain themselves. Now, it seems to be very evident that we are not propagating the better elements of society. The higher and more capable and more highly endowed members of society are failing to reproduce themselves, and therefore for some reason, whatever may be the fundamental cause for it, there is some dis-genetic influence at work. I question whether we can lay that wholly to the higher education.

PART III

THE VALUE OF AURICULAR CONFESSION

THE VALUE OF AURICULAR CONFESSION

By Selden Peabody Delaney, D.D.

THERE are many points of view from which we might profitably envisage the value of auricular confession. We might consider its value to the Church, its value in the struggle with temptation, its value for the development of the spiritual life, its value for society, its value in the training of the young, or its value in the teaching of morals. I am limited in time and I shall therefore confine myself to the consideration of its value from the standpoints of the pastor and of the individual sinner.

I. The Standpoint of the Pastor

Every priest of the Church by virtue of his ordination has been given the cure of souls. He should therefore constantly keep before himself the example of the Good Shepherd, Jesus Christ. The work of the shepherd of souls is twofold. He must shepherd his flock, but he must also go after the sheep that are lost and bring them into the fold.

Let us think first of the work of the faithful pastor in his efforts to seek and save that which is lost. It is not enough that he should bring the sinner physically into the sacred precincts of the Church, although many clergy seem to have the idea that their whole pastoral duty is fulfilled if they can attract a crowd by whatever means within the walls of the church building or even the parish house. The sinner must be brought back into moral and spiritual sympathy and companionship with his divine Saviour. If he has never

been baptized he must be prepared through faith and repentance to be made a member of Christ through the Sacrament of baptism. If he has been baptized in the past and has since fallen into mortal sin, that union with Christ which has been broken by his sin must be remoulded and recemented by a genuine repentance. The three necessary factors in repentance are contrition, confession, and satisfaction. If the penitent shows true contrition for his sin and is resolved to make up for it in every possible way and confesses his sin to God in the presence of a priest, the priest is required to give him absolution, by pronouncing the words, found in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, in the English Book of Common Prayer: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: And by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

In dealing with penitent sinners the priest must act both as judge and physician. He must be a judge, because in order to exercise the power of binding or loosing he must determine whether the penitent is contrite and has a firm purpose of amendment. If he has not true contrition, it is the priest's duty to refuse absolution. The tribunal of penance, as it has been called, is strikingly different from the earthly tribunals of justice, in which the accused are tried and if found guilty are condemned to punishment. In the divine tribunal the guilty accuse themselves of sin and they are immediately set free. The priest must also act as physician, because he will often be required to give such advice as may be necessary for the complete recovery of the penitent to moral and spiritual health. The penitent is under no moral obligation to follow the advice of his spiritual physician, any more than the sick man is morally bound to follow the advice of his doctor. It is simple common sense, that having

found a confessor and a physician worthy of confidence, we should give heed to their counsel.

Fortunately, however, not all people who make use of the sacrament of penance are living in mortal sin. There are many faithful souls who have never fallen into mortal sin since their baptism; but as they desire the assurance of God's forgiveness even for venial sins, they resort frequently to this merciful sacrament. In either case it is the privilege of the wise confessor to direct the faithful in the way of the mystical life and to aid them in developing in their souls the positive fruits of the Spirit. Not all devout people are experts in mystical theology. They need constant guidance and instruction. To guide and instruct them properly the clergy themselves should know at least the rudiments of mystical and ascetic theology, and should be trying, however haltingly, to walk in the way of perfection. Every disciple of Christ who is working earnestly at the development of his spiritual life needs frequent warning against the traps and pitfalls that lie in wait for him along the pathway of life.

In urging the value of sacramental confession in the work of the pastor I am not speaking in any doctrinaire spirit. I am speaking out of a pastoral experience of nearly twenty-five years. During those years I have never failed to be in the church Saturday afternoons from four to six and Saturday evenings from seven-thirty to nine, and to let people know that they could always find me there, not only for purposes of confession but to consult me on any matters relating to their spiritual life. Looking back over those years of my ministry I can say without hesitation that nothing else that I have done has compared in fruitfulness and genuine satisfaction with the personal dealing with souls through the hearing of confessions.

We who believe in the regular use of auricular confession are no doubt thought of by many in the Church as lawless and unreasonable persons who are trying to foist upon their

people a practice which has no place among the heirs of the Reformation. Nevertheless we cannot escape the conviction that when at the solemn moment of ordination the Bishop laid his hands upon our heads and said, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God. Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven; whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained," he imposed upon us the obligation to hear each penitent with the utmost patience and attention and to determine whether his sins should be forgiven or retained. We feel that we would not be fulfilling our obligation as judges if we simply lectured to a crowd of sinners on general moral principles.

Neither can we escape the conviction that our pastoral office implies that we should be spiritual physicians and administer to each sin-sick soul the particular remedies it needs instead of preaching to a congregation of invalids on the general laws of moral and spiritual hygiene. We do not wish to be like physicians who are in possession of the one effective remedy that can restore multitudes of sick folk to normal health, and yet refrain from putting it within their reach.

We are also spiritual teachers and we are convinced that we can best fulfil our teaching function by administering milk to babes and meat to strong men,—to each according to his need and capacity,—instead of dispensing miscellaneous precepts to a bewildered throng. We prefer to act on the principle that if you are undertaking to fill a score of bottles with water it is better to fill each one separately than to throw a pail of water at all the bottles at once.

II. The Sinner

Here, too, I am speaking not as a theoretical philosopher, but on the basis of experience. I am grateful to say that I have many times found relief and joy and pardon and

peace by resorting to the sacrament of penance. Personally I cannot see how the Christian religion can be of much practical use to any human soul without this sacrament. Possibly I am peculiarly constituted, but I am sure that I should long since have given up the Christian religion if it had not the power of assuring me of forgiveness. Why then is auricular confession so valuable in the life of the individual penitent? I have space to mention only two reasons:

1. It makes for singleness of aim, humility, self-knowledge, and sincerity. St. John says in his Gospel (III:20, 21) "Everyone that doeth evil hateth the light, and cometh not to the light, lest his works should be reproved. But he that doeth the truth cometh to the light." If we are aiming to be true and sincere Christians we should not hate the light. We should be glad to have at least one fellow human being know us as we really are. There is no better way of coming to the light and of making our secret deeds manifest than by confessing our sins in the presence of a priest. In the early Church it was required that sinners should confess their sins before the whole congregation. This discipline was later considerably modified, and sinners were given the privilege of confessing their sins before the priest alone as the representative of the Church. In either case it is an excellent remedy for hypocrisy. We cannot hold our heads very high when we realize that at least one other mortal knows us through and through as we really are in the sight of God. That is why confession is good for the soul.

2. Confession is also valuable in that it gives us the stimulus of a new start in life. One feels almost as if he ought to proclaim this truth on the streets to the multitudes. If they only knew the lightness of heart and buoyancy of spirit that would come to them after receiving absolution they would not hesitate to hunt up a priest at once and demand that he hear their confession. It is almost impossible for one living in sin, however often he may make good resolutions,

to enjoy the sensation of having put his past away from him and started out with a clean slate such as comes through sacramental confession and absolution. He may try to live a better life, but he is conscious all the time of the dead weight of his past sins bearing down upon him. What he needs is the impetus and new vigour that result when that weight is taken from his shoulders and he is enabled to take up his journey once more in newness of life.

It is impossible to estimate the number of souls in the world to-day who are overcome by discouragement or driven to suicide through despair. Many of these might have been saved if they had known of the merciful provision that Christ has left in His Church for the forgiveness of sins committed after baptism. Are we to have no word of encouragement for the heavy laden and depressed? Let me recall to you the sad experience of Judas. He betrayed the secret of his Master to the chief priests for thirty pieces of silver, which, in the light of the discussion this morning, I have always interpreted to mean that He was the Messiah, the betrayed Master. He may have done this in order that he might force his Lord to declare Himself publicly as the Messiah and to set up His Kingdom. But when he saw that his treachery was to result in the crucifixion of his Master he was overwhelmed with remorse. He went to the Jewish priests and blurted out his repentance, exclaiming, "I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood." What was their reply? They repulsed him with scorn, saying, "What is that to us? See thou to that." He went away and hanged himself. I thank God that our Lord Jesus Christ has given to the new priesthood that He has appointed in His Church a commission which enables them to pronounce healing words to such despairing souls as Judas. That commission was given to His Apostles after His resurrection, and by it He has assured for all time to the ministry in succession from the Apostles the power to forgive sins: "Whoseso-

ever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

Are we to take our stand with the chief priests of Judaism, who said to a despairing and broken soul, "What is that to us? See thou to that," or are we to take our stand with the Saviour of humanity and say, "By His authority committed unto me I absolve thee from all thy sins"?

The third reason why confession is good for the individual sinner is because it clarifies the spiritual vision and because it enables a man to have the gift of faith. One of the most terrible effects of serious sin is that it darkens the mind, it makes it impossible for the mind to see clearly the things of the spirit, and until that darkness has been enlightened by the grace of God, the sense of spiritual vision will not return.

A few months ago there was a very striking article in the *Hibbert Journal* by a professor of philosophy in a Polish university, Professor Lutoslawski, a difficult name for an American to remember, so I put it down on paper—Professor Lutoslawski. He was a man who was very highly esteemed by Professor William James. Professor William James thought of him as a pluralist and a defender of his favorite philosophical position. This professor for many years was a man without faith. He had been brought up in childhood in the Roman Catholic Church and after he had gone through college his faith became weak and he finally lost his faith, and for twenty years he was an atheist. One day he was visiting an old friend of his, a priest, and they spent a very pleasant evening together in this priest's study. They had not seen each other for years, and the college professor told the priest of his experience in having lost his faith and never being able to believe anything. After the evening was over, as the professor was about to leave, the priest said to him, "I want you to come with me down into the Church." And they went into the Church, the dark, quiet Church,

with only the red light burning before the altar, signifying the presence of Christ there in the tabernacle. And then the priest said to this professor, "I want you to come into this confessional here and make your life confession."

"But, father," he said, "I have no faith. I don't believe in confession or in any of the sacraments. I don't believe in God."

"Never mind," said the priest, "Do this simply because I ask you to do it. Do it in obedience to me as a representative of the Church."

With more remonstrance, the professor went in and made his life confession and he received absolution. As the priest said good night to him, he said, "You come to-morrow morning to mass and make your communion."

"But, father," he said, "I don't believe. I am an atheist."

"Never mind," said the priest, "Never mind whether you believe or not, do it because I tell you to do it."

The next morning he came and he made his communion, and he testifies himself that at that moment it seemed as if scales fell from his eyes and for the first time in twenty years he believed with the faith of a little child.

THE VALUE OF AURICULAR CONFESSION

By Percy Gamble Kammerer, Ph.D.

IT is not often that a writer consciously bids farewell to his subject in his introductory sentences. My distinguished colleague has considered the traditional background of what is technically termed auricular confession and has stressed its importance as an element in present day pastoral care. This paper will not deal with the development of auricular confession from public acknowledgment of sin, through confession to a priest or layman, to conciliar action in 1215. Nor shall we examine the various texts which are used as sanctions for this practice in the Anglican communion, the doctrine known as the "power of the keys," or with that of priestly absolution. We will consider the immanent rather than the transcendent aspect of God. Our interest is not to prove the practice of auricular confession invalid or to urge its limitation. Indeed, a student of human institutions must recognize that while the Church, on the one hand, has been needlessly preoccupied in this matter with the discussion of theological refinements, it has, on the other, instinctively met a specific human need. It would seem that the desire to unburden the soul either by means of confession to a priest or to a layman has characterized the development of Christianity. No one can deny that the use of auricular confession has been helpful in solving many of the mental conflicts and repressions of the inner life. If this be true it follows that like so many of the practices of the Church, auricular confession is based on principles which are

psychologically sound. Thouless, in "An Introduction to the Psychology of Religion," quotes the authors of the "Dictionary of Psychological Medicine" as stating that among the many patients in an institution obsessed by the idea that they had committed the unpardonable sin and were therefore cut off from the hope of God's forgiveness, only one such patient was a Roman Catholic.

It is, however, possible to make two observations. First, that the use of the priestly office of the confessional is for various reasons not likely to become the general practice of that branch of the Catholic Church to which those of us who are here belong. Secondly, we may state without any desire to appear contentious that in the light of our present psychological knowledge auricular confession as it has been practised in the past is an inadequate method for removing the sense of sin or consciousness of inner conflict.

Let us examine the practice of the Church in its possible relation to the new psychology. There is a point of contact between the doctrine of the Christian Church and recent investigation. It lies in the relationship between the doctrine of sin and forgiveness and what psychologists call the intrapsychic conflict and sublimation. Just as sin impedes the spiritual power of man and forgiveness or absolution releases it, so this inner conflict inhibits the full and free expression of the libido or psyche, whereas sublimation enables this energy to be expressed along higher or socially more productive levels. That there is an analogy between what has been called in religious phraseology "the spirit" and this concept of the psyche is a statement which we shall endeavour to substantiate.

In order to understand the relationship which exists between the teaching of the Church and the point of view of the new psychology, it will be necessary for us to consider briefly some of the fundamentals of the so-called analytic school. It may be well at this point to state that no defini-

tion of psychoanalysis can be considered valid which does not take into consideration the work of varying groups of psychologists, or which fails to recognize the changing postulates due to recent investigation. One does not need, for instance, to be a strict Freudian in order to see the value of the analytic method. It appears, however, that there are certain general hypotheses which can fairly be said to be common to all of the different schools which are interested in psychoanalysis.

One of these concerns the dynamic nature of all mental processes. The mind is considered to be a source of psychic energy. It is a mechanism with a seat of entry and discharge. It has its motor and sensory channels. The new psychology holds that every mental process sets this whole mechanism in motion and that with every such process there is generated an accompanying amount of "psychic energy," to use Jung's term. Some psychoanalysts refer to this energy as the libido. Its nature is similar to Bergson's "élan vital." It is also designated by some as the psyche. In passing let it be noted that the excessive accumulation of this energy is productive of a sense of tension and discomfort and a tendency towards discharge. From this release of tension there comes a sense of pleasure and relief. When we look further into the contents of the mind, we find a network of mental elements which are associated or related, and that this network of associated elements is organized into systems which are called complexes.

Tansley gives us a clear conception of the various complexes in his book, "The New Psychology." These associated mental elements called complexes are either conscious or repressed. The creative forces which form these complexes, and especially those that are designated as universal, are the instincts. It is in these universal complexes, namely, the ego complex, the sex complex, and the herd complex, that the preponderant amount of psychic energy generated by

mental processes centres. Anyone who observes the behaviour of children during infancy and early childhood will notice that these instinctive tendencies centring in the universal complexes find free and direct expression.

How are the instincts distributed? One of the great instincts or groups of instincts concerns *the self* and gives rise to the most fundamental complex of all; namely, the ego complex. The second or sex complex is among the strongest and most evident. It is common to all normal human beings and is based on an instinctive mechanism inherited from generations of human and non-human ancestors. There remains the herd instinct which affects the individual's relation to the society in which he lives, and gives rise to one or more herd complexes. As Tansley says, these three universal complexes correspond to the three great functions or relations of the life of the individual man. They are concerned, on their more primitive levels of expression, with self-preservation, reproduction, and the relationship of the individual to the group.

Soon after the infancy period the direct expression of these instinctive trends begins to be inhibited by the standards and conventions which have been evolved through a long process of civilization. Actions which formerly were permissible are now characterized as indelicate, immoral, sinful, or anti-social. The result of this opposition between the instinctive tendencies of the individual and what one might characterize as his newly acquired ideals of conduct forms the basis for the intra-psychic conflict. It follows that the conscious mind in its effort to find an equilibrium between instinct and ideals often succeeds in driving out of consciousness into the subconscious many of those primitive yearnings which we have described. It does not follow that because they are no longer conscious that they cease to operate as determinants in human action. The new psychology reveals the fact that human actions are to a great degree unconsciously motivated, and

that the method by which instinctive tendencies are arbitrarily repressed into the unconscious is one of the causes of serious functional nervous troubles.

Further examination will also reveal the conflicting nature of these universal complexes themselves. It is possible not only that these universal complexes find it at times difficult to adjust themselves to the externally imposed code of conduct of our time, but there is often an internal conflict between, for instance, the ego complex and the sex complex. An instance of such disharmony may exist in the life of a man, let us say, who desiring to advance himself materially in life, has made a marriage which offers him no opportunity for emotional self-expression. On the other hand, we may note a struggle between the ego complex and the herd complex, in the case of one who, while following his instinctive tendency to acquire wealth and comfort, has been careless of the dictates of society and as a consequence finds himself in the penitentiary convicted of larceny. There is little need to develop the general and obvious conflict between the sex instinct and the herd instinct. It is probable that few individuals are without some struggle between these two instinctive elements of their psychological organism. On the other hand, we can make the further statement that the universal complexes, because of their primitive origin and their tendency towards direct expression, are frequently opposed to the demands of civilization for an expression of these forces along ethically and culturally higher levels of behaviour.

Two further generalizations appear possible. First, that some of the psychic energy centred in these complexes is capable of being diverted by means of related activities. Dancing, for instance, offers a channel for the expression of the sex instinct along relatively harmless lines. Music lowers the feeling of sex tension. Athletics gives expression to the combative element in the ego complex.

Secondly, it follows that this stream of psychic energy, this libido, is itself capable of being sublimated. By sublimation is meant the expression of primitive and socially less productive tendencies along culturally higher and socially more useful levels of activity and feeling. The boy who instinctively tears the wings off a fly may grow up to be an able surgeon. The child who delights in the display of its body may become an eminent actor. The new psychology holds, in fact, that the work of the poet and the artist, and all socially useful, creative endeavour, is the result of a process of sublimation by which the psyche achieves ends which may seem to be far removed from our primitive and instinctive tendencies.

An illustration of conflict and phobia is that of a young man who had been carefully brought up in a family with high ideals. Through the influence of a companion he was led into a situation which not only caused a severe nervous shock, but of which he was thoroughly ashamed. A short time after the event he began to experience difficulty in travelling from Charlestown to Boston on the elevated railroad. He was obsessed by the idea that when he entered the train he became the sole object of the passengers' attention. His pulse increased in rapidity, he found difficulty in breathing, he nearly fainted, and the particular phobia which beset him was that a drawbridge over which the train entered into Boston might not be in position and that he would meet his death. Aside from the psychic trauma which the original event inflicted upon this young man's nervous system, causing a distinct sense of inferiority, there was manifest a consciousness of sin or guilt which pervaded all his thinking. A brief analysis revealed the fact that his fear of the train and the bridge represented a symbolization of the occurrence through which his difficulties began. He was led to believe that his repentance would lead to God's forgiveness, and within a week he was making the journey on the elevated railroad without the slightest difficulty. An interesting element lay in the young

man's race and religion. Few of our brethren would be so diligent in their advocacy of the confessional as to suggest the use of this office as a means by which a Christian priest might grant absolution to an orthodox Jew. Yet such were the circumstances in this case.

In the case which we have mentioned, we find through sublimation a resolution of the inner conflict and the consciousness of new spiritual strength, resulting in purposeful and socially useful activity. This individual may be said to have experienced a sense of guilt or sin, followed by repentance or conversion, and a consciousness of forgiveness and salvation. Such instances could be multiplied. All represent a transition from the state of a divided self to that of an integrated personality. These results could hardly have been attained without an exploration of the unconscious mind such as the confessional scarcely affords.

Let us turn from the more psychological phase of our discussion to a brief consideration of Christian experience. It is a field in which interesting work has been done by such writers as Miss Evelyn Underhill, particularly in her recent book, "The Life of the Spirit and the Life of Today," and by students of the psychology of religion, such as William James, and lately, Thouless. Miss Underhill attempts to make the adjustment between psychology and the life of the spirit and succeeds to a remarkable degree. The problem is largely one of explaining traditional religious experiences in modern terms. Miss Underhill reminds us that in our psychological scheme it is necessary for us to find room for a changed and enhanced life which while "immersed in the stream of history, is yet poised on the eternal world." That this life involves a complete redirection of our desires and impulses and a transfiguration of character is obvious.

When we begin with a study of the nature of the psyche, such as has occupied our attention this afternoon, we find that every existence contains something of the lower life

for the purposes of the body, and of the higher for the purposes of the spirit, and yet constitutes a unity. There is an unbroken series of ascending values from the levels of merely physical to those of the self-determining and creative consciousness. Instinct represents the psyche acting by expression along primitive levels. Spirit represents this same life acting on higher levels, seeking and achieving correspondence with the eternal world. As Miss Underhill says, "I am spirit when I pray, if I pray rightly; I am my lower nature when my thoughts and deeds are swayed by my primitive impulses and physical longings declared but disguised. I am most wholly myself when that impulsive nature and that craving spirit are welded into one, subject to the same emotional stimulus, directed to one goal."

We can no longer separate our loftier strivings from others and characterize them as "ourselves." It is the whole man of impulse, thought and desire which it is the possibility of religion to capture for God. This whole man is moving towards a racial future as yet unperceived, but yet carrying with him a racial past which conditions in every moment his choices, impulses, and actions. Here we have a basis for St. Paul's distinction between the law of the flesh and the law of the spirit, between the natural and the spiritual man. St. Paul is the classic example of the conflict between these two elements in human nature. "I find a law," says St. Paul, "that when I would do good, evil is present with me, for I delight in the law of God after the inward man, but I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind. With the mind I myself serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin." Thomas à Kempis gives us a vision of the same internal struggle when he says concerning his yearning for the presence of God, "I desire to enjoy Thee inwardly, but I cannot take Thee. I desire to cleave to heavenly things, but fleshly things and unmodified passions depress me. I will in my mind be above all things,

but in despite of myself I am constrained to be beneath. So I, unhappy man, fight with myself and am made grievous to myself, while the spirit seeketh what is above and the flesh what is beneath."

There is, however, a distinction between the angle of approach of traditional theology and that of the new psychology. We are accustomed to the old dualistic conception, reinforced by Manichæism, which postulated an internal struggle between the powers of good and evil, or between God and the devil. The new psychology would do away with this dualistic attitude. We now know that the very element which our spiritual ancestors looked upon as a cause for shame and humiliation, because due to the influence of the power of evil or the devil, is now seen in the light of greater potentiality for moral progress. Our theory of the psyche shows us that the force of good and that of evil are two manifestations of the same spirit. It is also becoming more evident that the very energies of man which are used in spiritual attainment rest in what St. Paul would have called the law of the flesh, to him an obstacle to the development of spiritual life. Without man's instinctive mind none of us would be able to accomplish anything for God.

This principle is of great value as a means by which the internal conflict of the divided soul may be allayed. It can be used by modern psychotherapeutists as a basis upon which to give the penitent a sense of psychic integration which must necessarily precede a consciousness of forgiveness and salvation. The nature of sin itself is illuminated by the new philosophy. It follows that the essence of much sin is our tendency to go on obeying the dictates of our instincts, acting along primitive levels of conduct under civilized conditions of life. Virtue, then, means the sublimation of these crude instincts and a conscious redirection of their energies along ethically higher and socially more useful levels of expression. When we lapse back into the condition of instinctively

motivated savages, yet conscious that we are called upon to control and direct our psychic energy, we are falling into a state of sin. It is the realization of this relapse or of this failure to live up to our higher possibilities which causes the internal struggle connected with the divided self. Such a man is said to possess a "sick soul." Symptoms of this kind are in the main indications of a neurosis. We note here the relationship between this sense of "sin" and functional nervous troubles.

Salvation, then, comes to mean freedom from conflict, conflict between "the pull back of man's racial origin and the pull forward of his spiritual destiny." Psychology stresses the wrong and the right way by which such conflicts may be resolved. The wrong way lies in the attempt to repress and inhibit these primitive longings which exist within the human spirit. Experience has taught us—and this is something which the religious mystics of the past failed to understand —that the result of such inhibition is invariably some disguised form of compensating satisfaction, whether in the shape of a neurosis or a perversion. A correct technique would suggest that salvation is to be attained by changing the direction of our passionate cravings, by harmonizing them and devoting them to spiritual ends. This is true regeneration and this is only possible in any complete manner by the use of some method of approach to the contents of the subconscious mind. Conversion or repentance involves this change in the direction of our instinctive cravings. It is followed by the identification of these instinctive tendencies with certain modes of activity which may be called habit formation. Here lies the basis for all character building.

Anyone familiar with analytic treatment will immediately think of countless cases in which such a transformation has been effected in individual lives. One in particular comes into my memory, that of a young married man who had formed a relationship with a woman not his wife. He was

literally devoted to his wife and his reason and his idealism showed him the folly of his course. Instinctively, however, he turned to the younger woman. As is the case in so many instances, there ensued a torturing struggle within between the conflicting sides of his nature. This internal conflict consumed his energy to such a degree that he was barely able to do more than drag himself around. In a constant state of despondency, he could not attend to the details of his profession. He was completely de-energized. Under analytic treatment a process of growing integration became apparent. Through a specific technique he became more and more able to centre his emotional interests in his wife. To the degree that he succeeded his conflict began to abate, until gradually new energy began to flow into his law practice, showing itself in generally increased physical vigour. In religious terminology one could literally say that the burden of his sin fell from his back and that he walked forward determined and erect. Can anyone doubt that such an experience represents a real conversion? It is impossible to give sufficient details here to substantiate the belief that so radical an improvement could not have been brought to pass by the means of the confessional. That there is an analogy between this experience and the mystical attainment of salvation should not require further elaboration.

It will be seen that instincts are not fixed tendencies, that they are adaptable and capable of sublimation. Let us be careful to note the limitations of our method. A certain amount of instinctive energy can undoubtedly be displaced from the universal complexes, but there is a limit to the amount that can be thus redirected, varying in different individuals. It is probable that the sex instinct cannot be oversublimated without grave danger to the nervous organism, but it is certain that the intensity of the struggle can be greatly mitigated.

We are not possessed of sufficient material to enable us to

say whether auricular confession can point to a greater degree of success, but when we analyze the lives of some of the Christian saints, it becomes apparent that one of the great tragedies of history lies in their inability to recognize the fact that in fleeing from one form of temptation they were merely succumbing to the same instinctive tendency expressing itself in some disguised activity. Pfister stresses this point in his work, "The Pychoanalytic Method." The loss to cultural civilization and to humanity in general lies in the incalculable amount of psychic energy dissipated in these activities. Earlier in life and on another road St. Paul might have met the Master of his life. The same is true of St. Augustine and St. Francis. Who can tell what the result might have been for the Christian Church? What pain and sorrow, how many suicides are being prevented to-day.

It should be possible for us to-day to advocate a rational policy for the treatment of those who are suffering from the sense of sin due to the divided self, thus freeing for higher activities instinctive forces which are too often thrown away. Spiritual ideals can only be reached when the whole man acts under the impulse of enthusiasm and instinctive need. The great work for God in this world will be done by those who can thus express instinctive energies of their natures in sublimated form.

It is thus our duty to examine without flinching the elements of our impulsive life. The hidden material, no matter how unworthy it may seem, must be brought into the conscious mind, and in the language of psychology, abreacted, or deprived of its pain-producing capacity. This can best be done under the direction of one who is familiar with present-day psychological methods.

Let us return briefly to the general principles with which we began. Without denying the value of auricular confession, we may contend that it should be deepened by the use of modern psychological methods if it is to be an adequate

method for the integration of the whole human personality. It is the function of the minister to bring the whole power of religion to bear upon the whole need of man. To the writer it would appear that one means by which this can be accomplished lies in the intelligent and discriminating use of the psychological principles such as have been brought to your attention to-day. It is a process which may well be termed a modern confessional, a technique of spiritual hygiene. The end is not conflict within, but that peace which passes understanding; not the dissipation of psychic or spiritual energy in useless struggle, but the thrusting out of one's psychic power into life. In place of inner chaos there comes harmony. Such harmony signifies the attainment of salvation.

THE VALUE OF AURICULAR CONFESSION

By Arthur C. A. Hall, D.D., LL.D.

THERE are just two or three points on which I would like for a few moments to dwell, first of all, to plead as earnestly as I can for individual dealing with our people. We all have our own individual, personal needs, temptations, difficulties, perplexities, ah, yes, and aspirations and hopes, likewise, and people need individual and personal help. We are in the way of awarding the instructions for encouragement. Let there be in spiritual things as in physical the specific care of individuals and not simply of classes or groups or congregations.

Then I should say, let there be perfect freedom as to this individual dealing with people. Let it be understood, for instance, that the clergyman is in church at the particular times, as Doctor Delaney said, for any spiritual purpose. Don't let it be narrowed down so that it is thought of only as hearing confessions,—to give whatever help may be needed and sought, advice or instruction, explanation, or to receive a confession.

A very wise and prudent priest who used sometimes to go with me on special missions followed this practice with regard to the children. He used to take the children's part in the parish mission, and towards the end of the mission he would try and get all the children—more than he could do, doubtless—all the children to come to him for a few words of personal help before they made their simple resolution, whatever it might be, to fix the impression of the mission.

He would get them to speak to him freely about their home life or their special temptation, needs, disobedience, untruthfulness, whatever it might be, not in confession, but speaking quite freely and frankly, and then, when he found there was apparent need for confession, he would say to the child, "Now, don't you think it would be a good thing for you to kneel down and tell this out to Almighty God and then receive His word of pardon and absolution?"

Let the spiritual intercourse be as free as possible for whatever need may be felt and experienced. Then I should say that for various reasons it is a great deal better that that intercourse, that spiritual intercourse, shall have the shelter of the church—I mean the church proper—rather than the secrecy of the rector's study or the parishioner's drawing-room. It is very much more likely to be helpful and it is likely to be more healthy, too. Let there be the shelter and the safeguard of semi-publicity in a shielded part of the church. I should like to have in every church, not a confessional box,—that seems to me rather unduly to limit the idea,—just the confession in some part of the church—a couple of chairs and a *prie Dieu,* where priest and pastor and the person can sit down together and talk it out, or one can kneel down and make the confession.

Then I want to say, if I am not cut off, a word or two about some possible—no, real—dangers about confession. There are such things. There are real dangers, especially where confession comes to be the accepted thing and a common practice in this or that congregation or among this or that set of people. There is a real danger that has to be guarded against of its getting to be mechanical and formal, —of confession coming to be in some degree subconsciously, I suppose our friends would say, a substitute, the danger of its coming to be thought of as a substitute for repentance instead of an expression of repentance.

I remember very well a great many years ago Father

Benson of the Cowley Fathers said to me in Cambridge, "Justification by faith only is an exceedingly dangerous doctrine, but it is nothing like as dangerous as justification by confession only." There is a danger of that kind to guard against,—you lay people and we priests.

Let me quote in that connection two sayings of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, along with Bishop Sanderson, until these quite recent days, our one great authority on moral theology. Bishop Jeremy Taylor calls attention to the fact that in our Lord's commission to remit and retain sins he did not say, "Whatsoever sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whatsoever sins ye retain, they are retained," but, "Whosesoever sins ye remit or retain." The priest is made by our Lord's institution a judge of the person's penitence rather than of his sins. He has to see that he is, as Doctor Delaney says, really sorry, really turning from the sin himself, that God may put them away.

Then the other saying of Jeremy Taylor which is quite worth consideration every minute. He said that the function of the priest is to help the man, or the woman, if it should happen to be a woman, in his repentance, not simply pronounce absolution. That is not the whole function, but to help in his repentance in hearing the confession, even in the sense of shame, helping to self-knowledge, as we were told just now, helping in the matter of reparation and putting things right that have been wrong, showing how temptations, occasions of temptation, may be avoided and the life more truly amended. In all those ways the priest in hearing the confession is to help the man's repentance. That is it. He is not merely pronouncing absolution. He is helping the man to get into the right disposition to receive the assurance of God's pardon and forgiveness. That seems to me to be thoroughly in accord with tradition, with theology, and with the new psychology.

THE VALUE OF AURICULAR CONFESSION

By Elwood Worcester, Ph.D., D.D.

I DO not know that I have heard for a long time two papers which seem to be more radically different than the papers of Doctor Delaney and Doctor Kammerer, and to a person who is not very familiar with this subject they might seem to be quite antagonistic, if not speaking about entirely different matters. However, I felt, if Doctor Delaney will excuse me for saying so, while he was speaking, almost as if one of my own colleagues was delivering the address, with a few exceptions. I do not distinguish, as he does, between mortal sin and any other sin, unless he means by mortal sin killing a man or killing yourself.

But this whole subject lies at the very heart of religion, and I quite sympathize from the bottom of my heart with what Doctor Delaney said about his long experience and the sacred experiences that come to him in his hours with his people in New York. I might say the same thing, in a way, except that instead of speaking of an hour on Saturday afternoon or another hour in the evening, I could truthfully speak of some four to five hours every day except Saturday over a period of nearly eighteen years. And that is a fact which ought to open the eyes of the blind, and even of the clergy. I mean the real desire that people have to come to someone whom they believe to be disinterested and perhaps to know something about their spiritual needs, and to be sympathetic.

Now, we go on our way; we do the best we can; we hold our services and we prepare our sermons and we preach them

and hope in God's mercy that they have accomplished something. You get to the end of the year and you look back at all the sermons you have preached, and how much do you know you have ever accomplished? How many sinners have been turned away from the wrong? We hope for the best, but God doesn't very often reveal it to us.

But, on the other hand, looking back over the year, where you can select this person and that person, this one perhaps saved from suicide, another, a poor mother, perhaps, who has been struggling under the heavy burdens of her vocation, or a school teacher about to break down, or a man in the prime of life who has become a curse to his family from drink, or a criminal turned from his crimes to a virtuous and honest person. All those things you can thank God for.

But, believe me, it can be done far more satisfactorily in the sense of getting results, if those are what you are looking for, by a more scientific and accurate method. This thing of merely encouraging people to come in and tell their sins may become a mere absolution, nothing but a routine, and what people look for may get to be not a change in themselves, but an absolution. I believe fully in absolution, but this is the only absolution that I believe in or that I think is of any consequence in the long run, and that is that kind of sublimation which enables a man to pass from a state of consciousness in which he is wrong and inferior to a state of mind in which he is consciously right and superior and is willing to give the thanks to God.

To gain those results takes a certain amount of time and patience. I assure you I do not sit in my room four or five hours a day merely for the pleasure of being entertained by the stories and the sins of the world, but it is in the hope of getting a certain number of definite results in the course of every week of my life. But to do that, you have got to go beneath the surface.

I think it was Doctor Delaney who spoke about this life confession. Well, that is a matter of routine. That is the very first thing you aim at, going back to the earliest memories of childhood. What is the very first thing you remember? When did you first come to the knowledge of sex to the relations of life? That was spoken of this morning, and it is a knowledge which scarcely leaves a person until the day of his death. And the aim is not merely to deal with these questions from the point of view of ordinary conscience, but to get beneath that, in order to unify the mind and to assuage these conflicts that are constantly raging in the soul and to bring about that sense of peace.

"Save thyself; save others."

That is one of the most beautiful aspects of this work, that very constantly the greatest sinners and the greatest wrongdoers become the greatest saviors and the finest men and women, those that I can count on, not only Sundays, but week days, and not only day time but night time, to go, not only to this country, but to Mexico or California, if it is necessary, to bring someone back to the Household of God.

The last thing I want to say is this: There was some discussion this morning about the meaning of "The Son of Man." There is one great saying in the synoptic Gospels, "The son of man has the power on earth to forgive sins." In that case "the son of man" is equivalent or tantamount to "man."

THE VALUE OF AURICULAR CONFESSION

By John Wallace Suter, D.D.

I SENT my card to the desk really not because I felt impelled to throw light upon this subject, but out of sympathy with the chairman! I try to back him up in this diocese in every way I can and I saw by the expression of his countenance that he was eager to have cards sent up, and as the secretary happened to be passing my way, I gave him mine. But now that I am here, I want to share with you some of the thoughts that I have been having during the afternoon.

First, the most prominent, is this: I cannot decide which I should dread the more, going to confession to Father Delaney or to Father Kammerer. I honestly tried to settle this problem—it is a serious one with me—because I am convinced by the discussion of the afternoon that I must go to confession. That seems to be obvious.

If I may expound that statement of mine, it rests in the fact that they both seem to me to present something that is too mechanical, it is too easy—too mechanically easy.

Then I further wish to say that it seems to me that I experienced once more what I have experienced so often before in regard to the Bishop of Vermont. When he gets up I usually feel that he is going to say something that I shall disagree with, and then I find myself, to my great joy, discovering that he is the sanest man probably in New England, for he really said the thing. Of course, we all believe in confession, not in—I don't understand half the words that

Father Kammerer uses—not in the special kinds that have been set forth, but we all believe in confession. As a priest of the Church, I know about it, every priest of the Church knows about it. But as Bishop Hall says, the best way to do is to sit down and talk it over, and then we both of us get helped. I suspect that the confessor usually gets helped more than the penitent.

But, now, I am really here to ask a question, and I am asking it, if it is allowable, (if the autocrat who rules these proceedings permits the persons who have read these papers ever to speak again), as to the essentials, because they have studied the matter; I know they have. There is another kind of confessional that is in the minds of a good many of us today. I am tremendously interested in it, and I should like to know what some people with expert knowledge think about it. It is not general confession, it is not the auricular confession, it is the "group confession." And there must be a lot of people here this afternoon who know what is going on. It is not return to Catholic practice, to confess our sins to the whole congregation. The congregation will be small, I imagine, if they know what is going to happen. But it is the confession in groups. You all know what I am talking about, if you have read "More Twice Born Men," and you know something about the work of F. B.; I suppose you do.

If the experts can tell us if that is a good plan, the "House Party Plan," by which you go on week-ends and the sinner confesses his sins before a group, I would like to hear about that. That is quite the burning question in religious practice at this moment.

THE VALUE OF AURICULAR CONFESSION

By Hiram Richard Hulse, D.D.

I THOUGHT that the discussion was to be on auricular confession, which seemed to me to have a rather technical meaning and to be associated with the Sacrament of Penance. No one, I think, could have listened to the very beautiful paper of the first reader without having been impressed with the necessity of this unburdening of one's conscience at times, and no one can live, as I do, in a country where confession has been the regular thing, without understanding how utterly demoralizing it is.

Now, what is the answer? The answer, I think, is in the position of the Church. The Church evidently intends that this which we call confession shall be regarded as medicine and not as daily diet. Morphine is a splendid thing. It is one of the best medicines which the physicians have. But you know that the morphine habit is one of the most deadly habits into which we can fall. Undoubtedly, the practice regularly of confession over any long period of time by large numbers of people results in a society more or less demoralizing. I think one who goes to Latin America can see that. One who goes to any country where there has been the regular habit can see that it inevitably tends to become mechanical and, becoming mechanical, whatever value it has is lost, and then it is deadening, it is stupefying to the conscience.

There are great dangers, that the Bishop of Vermont has spoken of,—dangers to the confessor. It is true that no priest of the Church would shrink from any danger which

might come to him in the effort to be of use to the people who come, but if what he is doing is of no real value to them, why should he have that danger?

You have heard about cases. We all have to generalize from the cases which we know, and, undoubtedly, no man who has been in the ministry for any length of time but has received what amounts to confessions and, if he is any good at all, has been of value to those who have come to him. That is regarding the confessional as a medicine. But when we regard it as a daily diet, then I think we have got to go, not to the study of cases, but to the study of history and to the result of practical experience. If that which we call confession is a good thing, if it really promotes morality and tends to quicken the conscience, then those parts of the world where it is practiced regularly, those parts of the world really ought to be pre-eminent in every way.

Now, is that true? Is that true? Is the south of Ireland any better than the north of Ireland? Is Quebec any better than Ontario? Is Latin America any better than North America? I think you have only to ask the question in order to receive the answer. That is the result. What you see in those countries is the result of the confessional when it has become the regular thing.

Where is it that we find the keenest conscience? You know in England the politicians are afraid of the nonconformist conscience. That has not been brought up on the confessional. You hear a great deal of the New England conscience. That has not been brought up on the confessional.

And yet we must admit that the confessional at times is one of the greatest helps imaginable. The answer to the question I have asked in the beginning is that we must regard it as the doctor regards morphine. It is medicine, strong medicine, and necessary, but to be used with the greatest care.

THE VALUE OF AURICULAR CONFESSION

By Rosewell Page

I KNOW nothing about auricular confession. It was Robert Louis Stevenson who said that the happiest lot in life for him was communion with his friends. Every professional man and woman, yes, every man and woman in any community, has a direct influence upon those about them. The poor and the sick and the weary come to my wife to tell of their troubles. The church is a place for them to come. Have your churches open and be there and answer these heavy laden souls in their trials and troubles.

The Methodist Church gets about it by their class meetings. I have sat, not as a member, but in a company in a little Methodist Church and heard my neighbours get up and tell aloud in a company of their friends their shortcomings. It moved you to tears, and it is the great strength of that Church.

"See the captain," "See the general," was the sign I once saw down in a Whitehall landing with reference to General Booth on the stand where the suicides had jumped off. "Before you jump, see the general."

THE VALUE OF AURICULAR CONFESSION

By Henry Knox Sherrill

AS I have listened to the papers and the discussion this afternoon, I have learned that confession is good for the soul. I want to confess that it has made me feel ashamed of the small amount of time that I have been giving to the religious problems of my people. I do not know as it is my fault; it is more the fault of the system. We have to raise great sums of money; we have to be president of this board and chairman of that committee in the organization work of any great parish. And what the discussion to-day has brought home to me is that all of us in the ministry ought to give much less attention to these organization demands. We ought to be asked to be less effective as financial agents, and we ought to practice a great deal more of personal religious approach to men and to women.

I have heard Doctor Worcester criticized because he didn't go to this diocesan committee or that diocesan committee, but I would like to ask you what is more important, to be an efficient busybody running around here or there or everywhere else, or sitting in one's study building up human character?

What I have learned from Doctor Kammerer is that, if we are going to do it, we ought to do it efficiently and not simply by the grace of the orders that have been given us. We ought to know this psychological material which has come to the front within the last few years. We ought to know those books, and there is something the matter with

us if we have not gone to the depths, as best we can, of this new knowledge which has been placed before us. It is a great and efficient tool, and we ought to be ashamed of ourselves if we don't take the time to take advantage of this tool in order that we may be equipped to reach real, genuine human needs.

I do not think it is alone the fault of the clergy. I think it is a great deal the fault of our people. I have known a good many clergymen to go out of a seminary, full of a desire to help people, who have been frozen by the people. When he goes to call, they think of it merely as a social call. I think it is partly our fault that they think we do not know any more about it than we do. And they are partly right. People, however, go to Doctor Worcester because they think he knows. We (most of us) have not been giving the impression that we know enough about it to be of any real help. But if we take the time to study, if we make our programme so that we are available to our people, then we can pray to God that they will come to us, and, having helped a person here and there, others will come, that we may be the ministers of Christ in the upbuilding of personal character.

So I just wanted to stand here and express my gratitude for what this session has done for me.

THE VALUE OF AURICULAR CONFESSION

By Prescott Evarts

MR. SUTER said that he did not know which of the two gentlemen he would dread most to go to confession to. I am going to tell him and I will tell you which of the two, on the whole, I should prefer to go to confession to. The two papers, of course, present a very striking contrast. It is a great satisfaction to find that Doctor Worcester can combine them in a unit, and that Doctor Worcester has given his approval of the first paper.

Now, I should go to confession, if I were going at all, to Doctor Delaney. Because what is prominent there in going to confession is the emphasis on the existence of God as a personal being in touch with human souls, and the emphasis is on the absolute responsibility of the individual self. When we speak of knowledge, so much for that. But if I was going to Doctor Delaney, I should find him a much better confessor, if he was familiar with all that Doctor Kammerer has told us.

The question is, Which are you going to put first, when the Church talks about confession? It is the Church talking about confession. It is not the physician, it is not the friend. Of course, confession to a physician doubtless opens up many a man's life and gives him strength and courage. Now then, also we hear rightly a great deal about the new psychology, and it has been my great satisfaction to read some of

these books which our learned friend has spoken to us about. But it seems to me we are in danger of forgetting that through these last eighteen hundred years the Church itself has been developing a knowledge of the human soul and a great deal of its work in the past has been along sound psychological principles. They did not call it by the same name. Just as the old-fashioned parson who went about in his parish and knew his men and women and his children, and who talked and prayed with them. He walked about a good deal more than Doctor Worcester, but I venture to think that he accomplished the identical result that Doctor Worcester accomplishes to-day. He didn't have the same name; he didn't use the same terms; he didn't know as much. The new psychology, of course—I suppose that our friends who represent the new psychology would not say so—does not come to put aside what we have already learned, what the Church has learned and brought into human life. And that is the reason why I think that the new psychology is a subject—it is a new thing; it is a new learning—(Well, I am new at this business; that is why I am so long at it.) Scientific knowledge has been brought to us by research and hard work and the genius of many men of this generation, but it has come in to supplement and help what has already existed.

CLOSING OF THE DISCUSSION

Bishop SLATTERY. I now ask those who began this discussion (namely, Doctor Delaney and Doctor Kammerer), to close it with five minute speeches. Perhaps they will answer the question which Doctor Suter has asked them.

Doctor DELANEY. I wish to express my deep sense of appreciation of the courtesy that has been extended to me this afternoon. I fully realize that the position which I have taken on this subject is not a position which is universally

accepted in this community or which is even very widely accepted, and I cannot help feeling that I have been treated with the utmost charity and kindness by all the speakers. And I wish to say that I shall be very glad at any time to see Doctor Evarts and do what I can for him.

I have been much interested to see that the leading speaker, Doctor Kammerer, did not contradict anything that I said, and did not really speak on this subject at all. He admitted the value of auricular confession in its proper place, but he urged that there were many cases which could not be dealt with properly through confession, but could be dealt with only on sound psychological principles. And I quite agree with him. Furthermore, I would go a little farther than that, and I would say that it has always been my practice, or not always, but I would say that since I have come to years of discretion and have learned a little by experience to distinguish as soon as possible, in dealing with any individual soul, between those who simply require the help of spiritual counsel and sacramental absolution, and those, who, for one reason or another, are suffering from some deep-seated physical or psychological or psychical difficulty which cannot be dealt with in confession.

When I find I am in contact with such a person as that, it is my practice to advise that person, first of all, to go to see a physician and to have a thorough physical examination. If that physician finds that there is no organic difficulty or no serious functional disease, then I say, "Come back to me with a clean bill of health and I will see what I can do for you." And if the person comes back and says, "I have been examined by a physician, and there is nothing physically wrong with me," I say, "Now, go to an experienced psychiatrist, one who can give you a psychoanalysis and can find out whether there is something wrong mentally or nervously, and, if so, that can best be dealt with by that psychiatrist." If the person comes back from such an ex-

amination and says, "There is nothing wrong with me in that way," then I say, "Your case is one which comes within my province and I will do what I can to help you."

We have heard something of the dangers of confession. Let me say that there is a danger, a real danger, in the new psychology, and that is this: It is the danger of unqualified persons attempting to treat people psychologically. I do not believe that there are many men within the ministry of the Church who have the deep psychological knowledge of Doctor Worcester, or of Doctor Kammerer, and, therefore, I would strongly dissuade the clergy, as a class, from attempting to deal with these cases themselves. But I would urge them to send them to competent men in the medical profession who can do for them according to the latest methods of psychological science.

As for the other question, I will have to leave it, the question of groups, to Doctor Kammerer.

Doctor KAMMERER. It has been a very great pleasure this afternoon to find that my colleague in the discussion of this topic has so thorough an agreement with me, and it also seems to me very delightful that he and I look at the thing from somewhat similar points of view. I think that probably we would differ in regard to certain methods, but not in regard to the underlying psychological value of the practice.

I feel badly about Mr. Evarts. You know, after one has done this thing a little while, one gets a sort of an uncanny insight into temperaments. The reason Mr. Evarts would rather go to Doctor Delaney than me is simply the fact that for two years I was his assistant.

But then one does not want to be prejudiced against new ideas, does one? In other words, I have shown a certain catholicity, I believe, in the acceptance of Doctor Delaney's whole point of view. Isn't it wise for some of us to accept a little of the newer modification of the old idea?

I do not know very much with regard to what Doctor Suter has said in regard to these group confessions. It really is not a part of the topic, because it cannot be considered auricular confession.

I haven't any idea on the form of confession. It is the idea of making it. But I do know one thing, that the clergy of our Church are not ministering to the needs of the men and women in their parishes, and any man that can tell me that they are has got to show me, because I do not believe it. And why? Because they won't turn to us. How many times in a month does a single man or woman come to you with a problem that is not absolutely superficial?

I believe that the minister has got to bring to bear the whole power of religion upon the whole of human life, and if we cannot do that, we might as well quit. And we cannot do that unless we know what we are talking about, and unless we know something of human nature.

I recognize that I had to read my paper very rapidly, but I must say that it must be because of the rapidity that some of my points were lost on some of the listeners, for, surely, I would not for one moment do away with a transcendent God. I simply had to limit myself to a study of the immanent God. And there is such a thing as the operation of the Spirit of God in the human subconsciousness, which is more marvellous than any of the old theology ever expressed.

In other words, my feeling is simply this, that in every community—in every large community—there ought to be a place where a man can go. It certainly is not the work of the average parish priest. I have not done it since I left Boston, because I have not had the time. And it is not the work of the average man. But there ought to be a place in every community where men and women in spiritual and moral trouble can go for help. And I claim that the Christian Church will not be fulfilling its function until it

affords to the men and women of to-day a chance to get good, sound advice on the things that are really determinants in human life. I don't care how you do it. Do it any way you want, but be ready to give it to the people who need it.

PART IV

SHALL WE DISCONTINUE MAKING CREEDS A REQUISITE OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP?

SHALL WE DISCONTINUE MAKING CREEDS A REQUISITE OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP?

By George Cadwalader Foley, D.D.

THE recent Pastoral of the House of Bishops contains these words: "Some test of earnest and sincere purpose of discipleship, for belief and for life, is reasonably required for admission to the Christian Society. Accordingly, profession of the Apostles' Creed stands and has stood from early days . . . as a condition of baptism." The first sentence suggests the fundamental truth, which it will be the object of this paper to maintain. The second is open to question; because only parts of the Apostles' Creed have stood "from early days" as a condition of baptism, and because that "summary of Christian belief" is not necessarily a test of sincere purpose of discipleship, as was meant to be indicated by the word, "accordingly."

This Creed is the brief expression of the Church's corporate faith. It is the token of the teaching Church, and is supposed to contain the things most useful for instruction and for distinction from those without. On the other hand, baptism is the confession of personal faith in Jesus Christ, the appointed means of inclusion within the family of His disciples. Now discipleship is personal religion; it represents a Divine life within the soul, and not acquiescence in any formulas, however Christian and true. A real disciple is one who does what Jesus says, not one who utters even the most correct statements about Him. It was an unhappy day for the Church, when in the fourth century the emphasis was

transferred from life to orthodoxy, and when later the Athanasian Hymn could declare, "He that will be saved must thus *think* of the Trinity." The present revival of concern about the Creed is not in itself a revival of interest in religion, or necessarily an expression of it. And our inquiry is whether the whole content of the Creed is requisite for the beginning of the Christian life. In other words, what is essential to public recognition as Christ's disciple?

Historically, the answer would seem to be pretty clear. The primitive tests of fitness were exceedingly simple. Our Lord required only a confession of attachment to Himself and readiness for His service. This implied some perception of what He was, but as expressed in personal not in intellectual terms. He sought acceptance of "the truth"; but that was never conceived as theological propositions, it meant morally transforming ideas about God as revealed in Him. The command to "follow Me" was not burdened with preliminary inquisition into correctness of ideas. As Bishop Gore defines it, His method was to call men to His companionship, and in that they were afterward to grow up into fuller understanding of all that He might mean to them. He distinctly said: "Him that is *on the way* to me (*ton erchomenon*), I will in no wise cast out."

His Apostles added little to His demands. They taught many things: but they insisted on practically nothing more than the implications of His Name, when they baptized converts "in the name of the Lord Jesus." "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved," was equivalent to Christ's own condition, and it needed no expansion. In contrast to St. Paul's elaborate theological and practical training of those within the Church, he regarded as sufficient for entrance only this: "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead (that is, that He is still alive, and authoritative as Lord), thou shalt be saved." Darwell

Stone admits: "No other requisites for receiving this sacrament than that the recipients honestly desired salvation and were willing to recognize our Saviour Jesus Christ as their Lord and God, are known to have been required" in the New Testament. ("Holy Baptism," 1'51). It is true, he suggests that the needs of the early Church differed widely from those of later times; but this must refer to teaching, not to the conditions of being known as a disciple of Christ.

For the ensuing centuries, especially the third and fourth, were occupied with doctrinal controversies about the relation of the historic Christ to the unseen God. Valuable decisions were reached and affirmations made upon what was denied or distorted, and the issue from the confusion was the Nicene Creed. This was the testimony of the Council as to what the Churches believed. But the really important question is this: did the Fathers, in the midst of these heated discussions about the Trinity and the personality of Jesus, demand a right opinion on all these controverted topics, before admitting anyone to the privileges of the Church? It is perfectly well known that they did not. Tertullian speaks of "pledging ourselves to something more than the Lord hath prescribed in the Gospel." But the history of the Creed shows that it was very little more. Cyprian's interrogative Creed in 250 comprised only these few inquiries: "Dost thou believe in God the Father, in Christ the Son, in the Holy Spirit?" "Dost thou believe in the remission of sins and eternal life through the Church?" (Swainson, "Creeds," cap. iii.) Even more significant is the evidence from the famous Lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem in 348. There we learn that a very full form of Creed was used in the twenty-three instructions delivered to catechumens. But at the time of baptism the candidate was simply asked whether he believed in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance (Gibson, "Three Creeds," 24). As he was to be baptized into this name, he was called

on as a beginner in the Christian life to say that he believed in it. And, be it noted, this was twenty-three years after the Nicene Council. Many specimens of short baptismal creeds down to the sixteenth century seem to justify Swanson's statement that the full Apostles' Creed was probably not used in baptism before the Reformation. A good representative of the mediæval practice is the Sarum Manual, from which the Office of 1549 was adapted. It reduced the second paragraph of the Creed to the words, "Dost thou believe in Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, our Lord, who was born and suffered?" It is surely worth remarking that this is the precise form of the present Roman rite. In all those ages, then, the Church believed and taught more, but imposed less as a test of being a genuine Christian. If, as it would appear, the whole Creed was enjoined as the baptismal confession for the first time in this book of Edward, the natural inference is that in this respect we are provincial, not Catholic.

What should we require in our day at the beginning of a Christian life? Is the fullness of the Church's corporate faith needful for the first step in that life? I am implying no disloyalty to the Creeds, I am not questioning their truth or their doctrinal importance, I am not imperilling the Church's teaching office by suggesting a relaxation on this point. But, considering baptism as the public submission to Christ's obedience, I am asking what should be the test of service to Him. Is that service in any way qualified by reduction of the requirements to the simplest terms? Is the Church the family of the friends and lovers of Christ? Is it any disparagement of orthodoxy, if we desire to claim as Christ's own all who have His Spirit? Ought we to hinder the approach of any souls to Him by urging details which do not involve the simplicity of that relation? Or, in the terms of our subject, ought we to demand for baptism assent to all the articles of the Apostles' Creed?

The answer is, obviously not: and for three reasons. First,

because it is an unwarranted extension of the primitive requirement. The essentials of discipleship remain the same as when the Apostles first invited Jews and Gentiles into the fellowship of the Church; and there is nothing in our later circumstances to justify a supplement or correction of the apostolic conditions. If confession of allegiance was once considered adequate, it should not be made any harder to begin to be a Christian to-day. As Bishop Lawrence pertinently inquired at Portland: "What right has any branch of the Catholic Church to set up a bar of entrance to the Church which is higher than that used by the Apostles themselves?" One becomes a member of the Kingdom, which is the personal rule of Christ, by actual service of the King: surely he may be, on the same terms, a member of the institution whose sole purpose it is to realize the Kingdom. It seems absurd to ask more of a man who wants to join the company of the disciples than God would require for admission into heaven itself. Newman said in his "Arians of the Fourth Century": "Freedom from Symbols and Articles is abstractedly the highest state of Christian communion." So it is ideally; so it was practically in the early Church; so it ought to be in the initial stage of discipleship. Even Bishop Gore says in his latest work: "Surely all those whom Christ would have welcomed ought to be welcomed now"; and there is no evidence that He would impose a set of dogmatic articles before receiving one as His follower.

Secondly, because of what is implied in the *growth* of the Creed. We are so familiar with it and with its misleading name, that we are apt to ignore that fact. From the meagre Roman form of the second century, it grew by slow increments until it comprised twelve articles, which were first brought into one formula by Pirminius about A.D. 750. The following additions were made to the second paragraph alone after the second century: "Only" Son, "our Lord," "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,"

"suffered," "crucified," "dead," "buried," the descent into hell, the resurrection, the ascension, session, and coming in judgment. Some clauses, like the descent into hell and the communion of saints, were never generally adopted in the East. These details are not important to remember, but the fact involved in them is highly suggestive.

Every one of the additions had been long accepted before it was made part of the Creed; but they were not especially required of the volunteers in Christ's service. For hundreds of years Christians were admitted into the Church, with no suspicion that all of the twelve articles were necessary to being a Christian. Christian life was maintained without them, and indeed that was just the period when the Church did her best and greatest work. If they were so essential to Christianity, that no one could be rightly signed and sealed as Christ's servant without them, they would have been found in the baptismal promises from the beginning. The very fact that they are not so found is the age-long admission that they were not regarded as essential. It is sometimes said that the situation is changed since the additions were indorsed by the Church's liturgical use; just as the test-word, *homoöusion,* put an end to the variations of thought of the preceding hundred and fifty years. But there is no parallel between the two things. Theology is an intellectual development, while discipleship is a uniform spiritual experience. The point I make is that this experience existed and was honoured as such for ages, without reference to elaborated creedal statements; and no enlargement of the Creed can make any difference in the quality or conditions of that experience. It was a mistake ever to make a Creed a requisite for membership in the Church. This only tended to confuse Christ's religion with assent to facts about Christ, to reduce the wonderful relation which faith represents to Bishop Pearson's feeble definition of faith as "assent to that which is credible as credible."

And, thirdly, because not every part of the Creed is basic and fundamental; and therefore the clauses are not all on the same level of importance. We are told that the Creed is such an inseparable whole, that if you tear any one of its articulated phrases out of its place, you put the very life of this body of truth in peril. But the question is, what is the place of each particular clause? Are they all equally material, or are some of them subordinate and inferior? It is a commonplace to-day to distinguish, as Bishop Gore does, between what is primary in significance and what is secondary ("Belief in God," 280), or, as Bishop Brent puts it, between principal and auxiliary truths. It is not meant that the subsidiary parts are to be treated as of no account, but that they are not the real basis of Christian living. The basic truths are those by which men live: but this does not apply to every statement of the Creed. Just as the books of the Bible are of unequal value as revelation, so not all the phrases of the Creed are of equal moment to religion.

Everyone is really aware of this. For example, the date in the fourth article, "under Pontius Pilate," would never be considered as having the same dogmatic or spiritual value as the reference to the suffering for us. The burial is just as much a fact as the death, but it is not as central and interpretative of Christianity. The Jewish reckoning, "the third day," is of unspeakably lower significance than the resurrection. The virginal conception is not as primal and basic as the Incarnation, as the two bishops above referred to witness. Or we may take the first half of the fifth article, "He descended into hell." It was a familiar idea in early times, and is to be found in the local Creed of Aquileia in 390. But it was not introduced into the Apostles' Creed until 650; the late date of itself makes it less urgent. Not to repeat that it is ignored in the East, you may recall that many Methodist Churches omit it in their recitation of the Creed. No one would dream of saying that their standing as

Christians is thereby affected. Moreover, from 1789 to 1892, a rubric in our Prayer Book permitted any congregation to omit it, if they did not desire to use an alternative phrase. Here we have the ironical contrast of a Church insisting that all the articles are essential to being a Christian, but that this article is not necessary to say or to hold after becoming a Christian. Even a Church ought to have some sense of humour, for the implication cannot be evaded: for one hundred years this Church endorsed the principle that some of the articles are not fundamental to Christian living, and therefore it really conceded that they should not all be required of a candidate for baptism.

It must be remarked, however, that the Church has gone further, and has quite specifically emphasized this distinction. In the catechism the child is asked, "What dost thou chiefly learn in these articles of thy belief?" Out of the twelve only three are selected, the first, second, and eighth, as the chief things to be borne in mind by the Christian. And they are all expressed as personal relations which are the essence of religion. Here we have the only authentic commentary on the Creed, and its entire contents are subordinated to the main matter of discipleship, which is faith in God, as Father, as Redeemer and Master, and as life-giving Spirit. The Creed is but the expansion of this three-fold Name; and Augustin's fanciful distinction that this is the only part of the Creed that we can "believe in" perhaps suggests that baptism should stress the Name, and not the expansion. Creeds, like Sacraments, are contributions to an end, and this is moral and spiritual; nothing which is not definitely contributory to it ought to be exacted of one who ingenuously professes it as his aim. The real question before us is, are Christian obedience and loyalty *dependent* upon all the details of the Creed? If not, why demand them at the outset? Why not strip the requirement to its real intent? If I may quote again from Bishop Gore, he says: "It is as a life, rather than as a doc-

trine, that in the New Testament it makes its tremendous and difficult claim upon men." To be sure, he adds: "The doctrine is only the necessary background of the life." But the matter for our present decision is, how much doctrine is necessary to the life? And just what features of it are requisite to its initial stage?

In pleading for the retention of the Creed, it is said that we may take refuge in the liberty of interpretation; since "fixity of interpretation" is *not* of the essence of the Creeds —*pace* the bishops of 1894. But the greater number are entirely incompetent to decide among differing interpretations, and not a few can and do live the Christian life without any consideration of them. We shall have to wake up to the alarming fact that many are kept from baptism, and equally from Confirmation, by this promise in the Office: and they are often unmistakably thoughtful and sincere in their desire to follow Christ. The question of candidates for Orders is clearly bound up with this very difficulty, and it is as acute among Englishmen as ourselves. At a recent Conference of the Headmasters of the great public schools, it was said that out of seven hundred boys at Marlborough, with a great clerical tradition behind it, hardly a dozen are looking to the ministry. The masters agreed that the obstacle is the elaborated Creeds. If this be so with regard to candidates, it is increasingly true of those who would be glad to become members of the Church, who have before them only the question of loving and serving the Lord among His recognized disciples.

It is simply tragic to have to leave so much genuine goodness outside the Church, when all goodness is the inspiration of the Light that lighteth every man. There is no pastor who does not covet many who deeply sympathize with the purpose for which the Church exists, but against whom a barrier has been erected by a demand which has no immediate relation to that purpose. Ought we not to desire that every

follower of Christ as Lord should be within the family where he belongs, and recognized as such? Should the test of the beginner be loyalty to the Master's person or subscription to a series of formulated articles? In a word, when we find a soul manifestly longing for the fellowship of Jesus, on what ground are we to invite him or inhibit him?

This is no perverse indifference to the truth of the Creed; it is the utterance of a conviction that the call to service should not be narrowed to the acceptance of even right opinions. And this feeling is becoming so general that the proposed English revision of the Baptismal Office simplifies the obligation into merely "professing the Christian faith." Bishop Vincent's amendment is even better: "I believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God." Certainly something less exactingly doctrinal should be substituted for the present form, something more direct and personal, more scriptural and apostolic, more essentially religious and Christian. It is because the requirement of all the articles of the Creed is an unwarranted extension of the primitive conditions, because it totally disregards the inclusion during many centuries of Christians with much less than the whole Creed, and therefore it is provincial and uncatholic, and because it elevates subsidiary matters to the level of those basic truths which sustain life, thus confusing religion with orthodoxy,—it is for these reasons that I earnestly advocate the discontinuance of Creeds as a requisite of Church membership.

SHALL WE DISCONTINUE MAKING CREEDS A REQUISITE OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP?

By Arthur C. A. Hall, D.D., LL.D.

THE question assigned to me is "Shall we discontinue making Creeds a Requisite of Church Membership?" My answer is:

1. Not if we desire to retain our position in historic Christendom. From the first, the Catholic Church has required a profession of belief as a condition for baptism. What we call "The Apostles' Creed" is a slight enlargement of the Baptismal Creed at Rome from at any rate the second century.

To give up this requirement might well be understood as the surrender of a definite faith. Hesitation was felt by the English bishops when application was made for the consecration of bishops for the United States on account of our apparent loose hold upon the creeds, as shown in the omission from the Proposed Prayer Book of the Nicene Creed (not to speak of the *Quicunque vult*) and the omission from the Apostles' Creed of the article concerning the Descent into Hell. What doubt might be entertained of our orthodoxy not only by English, but by South African or Indian or Canadian bishops if we now dropped the Creed altogether from our baptismal service? Is this a time for creating fresh difficulties within our own communion when efforts are being made to bring about a reunion of different religious bodies? Not only would division, perhaps disruption, be caused in our Anglican fellowship, and fresh obstacles raised to union

with Latin and Eastern Churches, but many of the Protestant bodies would be shocked at such a proposal. The Methodists, for instance, require the profession of the Apostles' Creed from adults at Baptism. Congregationalists, of course, in accordance with their fundamental principle of independence, cannot have a creed (unless they are baptized into the faith of Park Street or of the New Old South); but then, however, large and formidable Congregationalism may loom in Boston and New England, we may remind ourselves that after all New England is but a corner of Christendom.

2. The Creed a profession of *Belief,* of course, does not stand alone; it is not an exclusive test of discipleship. The promises of *Renunciation* of evil and of *Obedience* to God's commandments always accompany the profession of *Belief.* It is an immense pity to allow the idea of all being concentrated on Belief as the condition of admission to the Christian society. The Christian Religion has its rule of life and conduct equally binding with the rule of faith. Humility, truthfulness, and honesty, purity (in and out of marriage), and self-control, love and unselfish service are as much matters of Christian obligation as are belief in the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, or a future life. Plain and open violation of these rules ought to be visited with the Church's discipline and suspension from Christian privileges as much as heresy.

In the Renewal of Vows which is often used at the close of a Mission or a Retreat, all three promises of Renunciation, Belief, and Obedience are treated alike. I have often wished that something of this sort might be more frequently introduced into our public worship, at any rate in the more elastic and less strictly liturgical exercises. The Creed should not be allowed to stand alone, or in isolation, in people's minds. By itself it is "an inadequate expression of Christian allegiance."

The continual repetition of the Creed is of course with

a view to life and conduct. We are to build up ourselves, our moral and spiritual life, on the foundation of our most holy faith; to find in it continually fresh motives for resisting temptation and for the practice of virtue. We see that we may embrace and follow; we believe that we may obey. In the long run and in general, faith is a necessary element of discipleship. We must believe that Christ is and who He is; if His commandments and example are to be unhesitatingly obeyed and followed, and His help to be sought and relied on. The central place of the promise of Belief, between the promise of Renunciation and that of Obedience, has often been pointed out, and its significance. The enemies that we renounce would be too formidable, and God's commandments too difficult, were it not for the support given by our belief. "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith."

3. But why, it is asked, cannot the Church be content with a much simpler confession of faith, such for instance as that reported to have been made by the eunuch baptized by Philip the Evangelist,—"I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God"? Why insist on the elaborate definitions of the Creeds? Well, there is nothing very elaborate in the terminology or thought of the Apostles' Creed. But more generally we must answer that the simpler Apostolic and Scriptural confession cannot remain sufficient when its meaning has been evacuated or questioned. It was not for love of defining that the Church elaborated the Creed, but only to safeguard the meaning of the simpler formulas when the force of these had been explained away. The line taken by Athanasius—in word and action—is enough to refute this misapprehension when words have been emptied of their meaning—the coin, as it were, debased, fresh terms to safeguard the old meaning have to be found. When in explanation of the declaration that Jesus was the Son of God, it was claimed that we all are His sons, sharing in some degree His

being, the Church was obliged to add or prefix the word "only," "the only Son of God"; and when this declaration of unique Sonship was met by Arians by the declaration that Christ was God's Son in a unique sense as being the first of all created beings, higher than the angels, but still Himself created, the Church was forced, in order to guard her belief, to add such expressions as those of the Nicene Creed,—"Begotten not made"; "Of one essence or being with the Father," internal to the Divine Being, and therefore of necessity coeternal with the Father. Arius taught that the Son of God had come into being out of non-existence, that "once He was not." No, replied the Church, His generation is a law of the Divine life, rather than an event in time, however remote.

One cannot go behind, in the sense of ignoring, discussions or controversies. What was a perfectly sufficient statement before questions were raised may become quite inadequate afterwards. The fourth and fifth centuries supplement the first; the Creeds and Councils guard the sense of Scripture. The claim to be "American" sufficient before double or divided allegiance was defended, may need supplementing afterwards.

4. Undoubtedly the Creeds contain truths into the full meaning of which we have to grow; there are phrases that need interpretation, like the Descent into Hell, or the Session at God's right hand. But is not this true of the other vows? The exact meaning of "the World" as a spiritual enemy certainly requires explanation. "The Devil and his works" would, I am afraid, receive a good deal of explaining away by some.

All this belongs to the conception of the Church as a school of Christian instruction and training. Candidates for Baptism or Confirmation are not expected to be theologians, dogmatic or moral; they are to grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. But

an outline of doctrine within which their thought and life is to grow must be accepted; surrender to the teacher's authority must precede learning and discipline.

The Apostle commended and thanked God for the hearty obedience of Roman Christians to the form of teaching (τύπον διδαχῆς) whereunto they had been handed over for moulding of thought and life.

5. Are the difficulties of the Creed so great as to be a reason for its abandonment?

a. Let it be insisted on that what we "chiefly learn" therein is belief *in*—i.e. entire surrender to the personal living God, made known to us as the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, our Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier—God, God as man, God in men and women.

b. Let it be shown that the truths we profess to believe about the operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are not dry doctrines, but facts telling of the accomplishment of His purpose for us; the life and death of the incarnate Son, His sympathy with us in all our experiences from the cradle to the grave—and beyond; His conquest of death, not the mere escaping from it; and in the work of the Holy Spirit, the provision of the Holy Church with its fellowship and ministries of grace; the promise of cleansing here, and of perfected life hereafter.

c. These are not dry doctrines, nor are they mere facts and historical events. Each clause has its "underlying religious meaning" (not now for the first time "discovered"), not separable from or in contradistinction to the literal fact believed.

For us the Eternal Son was born in our nature, that we might be reborn in Him; born of the substance of the Virgin Mary His mother, by the power of the Holy Spirit, without spot of sin or inherited taint or twist, that there might be a real, fresh start for human nature; for us He died and rose again, that we with Him might die to sin and rise

to newness of life in fellowship with God. Let the Creed be repeated with joyous exultation as a hymn of praise to our Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, into whose Name we have been baptized. The faith embodied in the Creed, the Creed embodying the Faith, is something to be learned and loved and lived.

SHALL WE DISCONTINUE MAKING CREEDS A REQUISITE OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP?

By Boyd Vincent, D.D.

I WISH that our subject had been put in a more general and less precipitate way. But, as it stands, I take the affirmative of it.

I

First, in the interest of personal faith and so of personal religion.

(1) We distinguish these, of course, from corporate religion and corporate faith; and I take "Church membership" to mean here Christian baptism. Now the first believers, we know from the New Testament, were confessed and baptized simply "into the Name of Jesus Christ" (Acts 2:38, 10:48),—or "into the name of the Lord Jesus" (Acts 8:6, 19:8)—or "into Christ Jesus" (Rom. 6:3),—or "into Christ," (Gal. 3:27). The confession of the Ethiopian eunuch, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God," is of uncertain authority and is wholly omitted in the text of our Revised Version and placed in the margin. The triune baptismal formula given in St. Matthew (28:19) is at least of much later record than those single formulas. Indeed the most recent scholarship—McGiffert, for example, in his "Apostles' Creed" (p. 179), and again in his "God of the Early Christians" (p. 76)—declares that "there is no sign that the triune formula was ever used in the apostolic age."

Even Bishop Gore, in his last volume, "The Holy Spirit and the Church" (p. 125), now reluctantly admits that "in the beginning only the single name was used."

On the other hand, the truths of the Divine Fatherhood and of the Divine Spirit of Holiness, already familiar and *implicit,* for Jewish Christians, in the faith and very name of "Jesus, the Christ (the Messiah)," had of course to be made *explicit* for Gentile Christians. For, to many of these and for a long time, Jesus was their sole Divinity, like one of the "saviour-gods" of the mystery religions about them. Therefore, I say, these Gentile Christians had to be *taught* definitely the whole import of the Triune Name of "the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." Meanwhile, the Church herself had come to distinguish, also, between "faith" as a personal attitude of spirit, that is, as a personal belief in Jesus as Son of God and Saviour, and *"the* Faith, once for all delivered to the saints," that is, as a body of saving truth to be believed in the same connection.

So creeds grew up: settling first into the form of the Apostles' Creed, still used, in a more or less modified form, as a baptismal confession, in the Western Church; and, later, into that of the Nicene Creed, which, by the way, began originally with the words "We believe," (not, "I believe"), and so was meant only to declare the Church's corporate faith, but which has since been used also as an individual baptismal confession in the Eastern Church. To be sure, our own Church, catechetically beforehand, and the Roman Church, interrogatively at the time of baptism, concentrate the confession of faith upon each person of the Trinity. But the general effect of the use of the Creed at Baptism, and especially of a mere reference to it, as in our own Office, has been, I fear, to make Christians think that they are saved, not by any personal faith of their own but by accepting the Church's corporate faith and so being incorporated into her "membership."

Now all that has been said so far is not meant to disparage in the slightest degree the need and value of such a corporate faith. Quite the contrary. The Church, in the Apostles' Creed, beside her positive purpose of instruction, felt bound also, in sharp contrast with the fictions of the mystery religions and the illusions of the Docetic heresy, to declare the reality of the Person of Jesus; and she did it in a statement of historical facts, every one of which was sustained by the letter of the Scriptures themselves. And again, if we ourselves were compelled to-day, in self-defense, as the Church was then, to push all the theological implications of Christianity to their utmost, we should reach much the same region of difficult distinctions and final conclusions which the Church reached then. It was all necessary work, all true work, all brave work. The only point here is as to the *use* since made of the Creeds, or which may be made of them now.

(2) For, at the Protestant Reformation, men rediscovered that old, original truth and duty of personal religion. They rediscovered the Jesus of the Gospels, that Jesus who, except for rare souls, had so long been lost to sight in the glorified Christ in heaven or hidden from view by the mere Christ-Child in the arms of his almost deified mother. They saw once more the personal responsibility of each individual soul before God; and so the need of a personal faith in Jesus as well as a corporate faith about Him. For all through Jesus' own words about saving faith the personal note is constantly heard, the appeal for personal trust, personal love, personal obedience, personal imitation, personal union with Himself, personal worship of God through Him; and this personal relation is to be realized, too, just by living with Him, talking with Him, working with Him, communing with Him sacramentally, suffering with Him, and also waiting for the eternal reunion with Him.

I know how extravagant and unreal all such intense per-

sonal feeling in religion seems to some men. It does often degenerate into mawkish sentiment and mere cant. But also with other men, who have once fairly seen and learned to love the strong and godly Jesus of the Gospels, this personal devotion to Him can become at length something true as the sun and deep as the sea and stronger than death itself. No other motive-force will hold the great majority of men up so steadily to right Christian living. Indeed, it is this personal devotion to our still living Divine-Human Saviour, Master and Friend, which differentiates Christianity from every other religion.

It seems as if it would be a great gain, then, if this personal note in faith might again be more distinctly sounded in our own baptismal confession. For we hear it even in the stately Office of the Eastern Church, where, at baptism, just before the formal profession of the full Nicene Creed, occurs this direct question: "Dost thou unite thyself unto Christ? I do"; and just after the recitation, this question: "Hast thou united thyself unto Christ? I have."

II

Secondly: I believe that some such change in our own Office of Baptism, as the subject proposes, *would add reality and attractiveness to the Sacrament itself.*

Not that I would encourage either the denial or the ignoring of the Creeds, but only limit them in their place and use. I would have them kept constantly to the front, like the Te Deum and the Gloria in Excelsis, in the Church's worship, as her corporate declaration and defense of the Faith. I would have them run up, as a standard, to the masthead and nailed there!

But what I should also like to see done, in the interest of personal religion, is to go back to the simple, primitive, New Testament conditions of Christian discipleship and Church

membership, by requiring at baptism only a confession of personal faith in Jesus Himself as Lord and Saviour, instead of faith in the articles of a creed. I would have a return to our Lord's own method with his disciples, of "calling" them at first just to "follow" Him and "be with" Him; —that is, just to put themselves under the influence of His blessed and mysterious Personality, and then let them grow up in this way (as Bishop Gore so plainly points out that the first disciples did) into the full apostolic confession of Him at last as "the Son of the Living God."

At present we have not even a full confessional recitation of the Creed in our own Baptismal Office, but only a summary reference to it, viz: "Dost thou believe all the articles of the Christian Faith as contained in the Apostles' Creed?" Such a question is based, of course, upon a presumed but not always actual previous instruction; but even so it must be admitted that the question is not, in itself and at the moment, particularly impressive.

But now suppose that with full preparatory instruction in the Creed, our actual questions and formula at baptism were made to read something like this:—

Do you renounce, etc.? I do.
Do you believe in Jesus the Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour? I do.
Do you accept and want to follow him as your personal Saviour and Master? I do.
Will you be baptized in this faith? That is my desire.
Will you then obediently keep, etc.? I will, by God's help.
Then I baptize you in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

Two things are perhaps noticeable here. The words of this personal confession of faith are exactly those of the ancient Christian password, in the secret symbol of "The Fish." Also the full baptismal formula in St. Matthew has been faithfully preserved, even though the whole truth of the

Triune Name was always implicit in the faith and name of Jesus,—the Christ, Himself.

But, in any case, it seems to me that there is absolutely no comparison, as to the vivid and vital reality of the sacrament itself, between such a direct confession of faith in a Person and an indirect profession of faith in the declarations of a creed.

More than that. I know, from frequent personal assurance, that there are many good men, who ought to be in the Church and whom the Church needs, but who, in these days of intense and honest intellectual scrutiny, hesitate about committing themselves at once to all the articles and definitions of the Creeds. I know that there are many of these who do revere and love Jesus Christ, who do believe in Him, however vaguely, as Divine and who would gladly be baptized and enrolled as his disciples and followers, if they could do it now as Jesus asked men to do it at the beginning and so grow, naturally and almost inevitably, into the full realization and confession of His unique Sonship and Lordship, as the Church herself declares these.

III

And thirdly, and lastly:—I believe that every such simplification of the terms of Christian discipleship and Church membership *would be a real contribution to the cause of the reunion of Christendom.*

That reunion, if ever it comes to pass, must rest, of course, upon some common faith. But of what kind and in what degree? Can it be that of the elaborate denominational "Confessions"? That is manifestly impossible. Could it be that of one of the historic Creeds, even as a corporate declaration of the historic Faith? That naturally seems to us most desirable; but, frankly, I have come to believe that the likelihood of that is also very doubtful in these days when even

larger bodies of Christians refuse to be bound by any creed at all. In a pyramid, no matter how high its perpendicular, nor how broad its base, all its cubic contents are included within the lines of the angle at its top, starting from a single point. And so, in this matter of a common faith for a reunited Christendom, with all its present vast and variant theology, nothing seems at last so sure, so all-inclusive, and so sufficient for the purpose, as the simple, primitive confession of faith in our personal Lord and Saviour; sufficient, now as then, for Christian discipleship and Church membership, for communion and intercommunion; large enough, now as then, by its very singleness and simplicity, for universal fellowship. Wisely and far-sightedly, indeed, our own Church, in proposing a "World-Conference on Faith and Order," phrased her invitation. It was to "all Christian Communions throughout the world, which confess Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior." We were right in that. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

SHALL WE DISCONTINUE MAKING CREEDS A REQUISITE OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP?

By George Emerson Brewer, M.D.

I FIRMLY believe that the theologian has much to learn from the scientist. I am also convinced that the scientist has much to learn from the theologian. If only they would cast aside their traditional animosities and operate together, co-operate loyally, much would be forthcoming which would be of value to both groups; but if that is to be accomplished the scientist must admit that in his study of the universe and the laws of nature elements of a spiritual nature as well as a material nature are to be considered, and the theologian must not expect the scientist to accept as demonstrated truth statements which are derived from the tradition or the result of visions or dreams. In a meeting such as this, where we are all seeking for the truth, it seems to me wise that both sides be presented, and it is for that reason that I accepted the invitation of your secretary to be present and enter into this discussion, although I make no claim for profound knowledge of science.

But there is another and far more compelling reason why I am here to-night, and that is that I sincerely believe that the present attitude of the Church in regard to the insistence upon acceptance of creeds as a condition of Church membership is working a great and cruel injustice to a very large number of people—and when I say a large number I mean up in the hundreds of thousands—in our community, men and women of education, of independent thought, men and women

who accept the gospel of Christ and are trying sincerely to live according to its teaching, men and women who reverence the Church as the one great institution of all time which has stood for righteousness, for clean living, for the sanctity of the home, for honest dealings with our neighbours, for public and private morals, and has at all times exerted its great influence for the intellectual, moral, and spiritual uplift of the human race; men and women who would gladly co-operate with the Church, become members of the Church, and carry or help to carry on its great work of civilization, if it were not for one fact, and that is that they cannot honestly accept certain beliefs which the Church insists upon, and they are too honest to pretend to believe what their intelligence will not permit them to accept.

As has been stated to-night, the creeds in use in our Church to-day are really revisions of a number of former creeds. During the first three or four centuries of the Christian era these creeds were constantly revised, their phraseology often changed, as a result of increasing knowledge and a gradual broadening of man's mental horizon, but when adopted finally they were accepted universally by the Church and were universally believed, and as such they were useful. They tended to unify the Church, they tended to prevent dissemination, and being the generally accepted view of the day they attracted men towards the Church. But to-day, when our views have changed, when many men disbelieve in some of the statements of the creeds, their being insisted upon tends to repel men and women from the Church.

What is the authority for the various statements contained in the Creed? I take it there is only one authority, and that is that the statements contained in the Creed were taken literally and directly from the Bible, at that time believed to be the veritable word of God and therefore inerrant. If it can be shown that this belief in the inerrancy of the Bible is

not well founded, if it can be shown that the belief in the divine inspiration of its authors cannot be accepted in the light of modern critical and historical research, then the authority for the creeds and the statements which they contain will vanish, and we must look upon them merely as the work of men at a time in the world's history when there was little or no exact knowledge of the laws of nature, and a time in the world's history when the religious beliefs of all people were based very largely on tradition, folk lore, deeply coloured with Oriental mysticism and priestly superstition.

It is not too much to say, perhaps, that there is no book or collection of writings in the world that has ever been subjected to such rigid analysis, such critical review, as have the works of the Old and New Testament. This study, carried on as it has been by some of the most gifted scholars of modern times, informs us that our old belief that the individual works of the Bible were written by individuals to whom they are attributed can no longer be held in certain instances. As a matter of fact, many of these books are in reality composite creations, owing to a rewriting or reediting of a number of former manuscripts, often several centuries after they were written.

The Book of Genesis we will take as a single example. Anyone carefully reading this book cannot fail to note that it demonstrates itself its dual or triple origin. Moreover, I believe that it furnishes a very conspicuous example of historic inaccuracy. Compiled, as it was, during or shortly after the Exile from three sources, which the scholars speak of as Manuscript J, which was written about the ninth century before Christ, the Manuscript E, which was written about the eighth, and the Manuscript P, which represented the priestly code, written during the Exile several centuries later, this book gives us two quite different stories of creation, strangely enough the earlier and cruder in the second chapter and the more modern in the first, but both uniting in the

assertion that God created heaven and earth in six days at a date which is largely accepted, according to the best ecclesiastical authority, to be 4004 years before Christ. The group that I represent cannot accept that statement. They cannot accept it because it is entirely contrary to the revelations and demonstrated truths given us by the science of astronomy, by geology, by botany, by zoology, by anthropology, and a number of other recent sciences, all of which indicate very clearly and point clearly to the fact of the great antiquity of our planet.

It was Lord Kelvin, who was one of the most distinguished as well as the most accurate and conservative scientific writers of the nineteenth century, who stated that it was his opinion that the age of the world could not be less than twenty million years or more than four hundred. A number of other geologists have increased the date of the beginning of the world. These estimates have been formed from facts which have been elicited by a careful, accurate, painstaking study of the earth's surface, of its rocks and its soil, its mountains and its valleys, of its ancient and modern waterways, of its evidence of glacial and volcanic action, but most of all from its coal beds and from its fossils. The impressive character of the evidence of the sequence of organic life found in the fossiliferous strata of earth and soil, clearly indicating, as it does, the beginning from the very beginning of simple unicellular modern life, passing up from that through the crustaceans, the vertebrate fishes, the amphibians, the reptiles, birds, mammals, primates, and, if you will, man, cannot fail to impress any intelligent, fair-minded man, who will study the evidence, not only of the great antiquity of the earth but of the reality of the evolution of plant and animal life. If any more evidence were needed it would be furnished by the anthropologist. Without going into detail, for the facts are familiar to you all, there is conclusive, absolute evidence of the existence of man on this planet going back to the early

and late stone age, which reaches as far as the period of receding ice of the last glaciation, twenty-five or thirty thousand years ago, and it is highly probable from the evidence that it is much more than that.

Therefore I say we cannot accept the Genesis account of creation, and if we cannot accept it, and if it is not true, then the inerrancy of the Bible, and the fact, and the theory, the plan, the hope, that it was the inerrant word of God, must fail.

But while we disbelieve this story, while we disbelieve perhaps other narratives of extraordinary events in some of the books of the Old Testament, we do not by any means underrate its enormous importance. We value the Bible as the greatest literary heritage of the race. We admire it on account of its magnificent language, of its beautiful poetry, of the nobility of the ideas expressed by some of its authors. but most of all as an evidence of evolution—evolution of man's intelligence, evolution of man's moral nature, and evolution of man's idea of God.

We of the medical profession have our ancient literature. We have our classics, and in the works of Hippocrates, of Aristotle, of Galen, of Celsus, of Thessalus and others we have revealed to us the very beginning of the science of medicine by some of the greatest minds of antiquity; but no one to-day would propose for a moment that we accept the crude views of these early pioneers in the medical profession as we would accept the facts which are elicited and recognized to-day. Now let me ask a question. Supposing the Harvard Medical School to-day should insist as a condition of graduation that its students should believe implicitly in the ancient writings of our medical profession, what would be your reaction? If they should say that a graduate in medicine must affirm that he believed the intelligence is located in the abdomen, the seat of anger in the liver, that the arteries contain air and not blood, that

the two veins that go to the right ear contain the breath of life, the two going to the left the breath of death, that the etiology of disease is sin, that epidemics are due to the wrath of God, or that epilepsy and insanity or other nervous diseases are due to the presence in the body of evil spirits, veritable devils, your reaction would be that it is not only unreasonable but absurd. But to maintain that is not more absurd, Ladies and Gentlemen, than for the authorities of the Church to-day to insist upon our accepting literally the words of the creeds or those statements which are in direct conflict with modern biologic knowledge.

The Church to-day has everything to gain and nothing to lose by the revelations of science which demonstrate the facts. No institution, no religion, no system of philosophy that is founded on truth, need fear injury from the further revelation of truth. Nothing that is real needs to be bolstered up by arguments which are based upon that which is false.

The Protestant Episcopal Church to-day, I believe, has the greatest opportunity in its history for service to mankind if only it will abolish its creeds, it will do away with ancient dogma, it will cease insisting upon beliefs which are contrary to known facts demonstrated by science. If it will open its doors widely to all those who believe in the Gospel of Christ and are attempting to follow its leadership, it will not only increase to an enormous extent its own influence, but by an example to other denominations will, I believe, work the greatest moral welfare of mankind. Moreover, I believe that it will be an entering wedge for the abolition of all sectarianism, so that in the end we can have one universal Church based upon the teachings of Christ, inviting to and not repelling people from its membership. If it had a creed at all it should be so broad that it would allow all who hold that belief to enter.

While my own opinion is that there should be no creed, or

that, as stated by a recent author, the creed should contain but four words, "I am a Christian," we want a creed that will attract people to the Church and not repel them, we want a creed which will enable us to increase our membership and bring in all these people who are anxious and willing to serve Christ in that way. Let each man have his own creed. Let each man have his own belief. If I were to express my belief to-day as it stands,—and it will be subject to change, I admit, in case facts or discoveries come in the future which will show me to be wrong,—my creed at the moment could be expressed in the words:

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, creator and ruler of the universe, by whose wise and immutable laws the earth and all that it contains have been brought to their present state by a gradual and orderly process of evolution.

"I believe in Jesus Christ, the perfect man, human in body, divine in spirit, whose mission on earth was to give to mankind an example of God's ideal of human conduct.

"I believe in one universal Church, founded on the teachings of Christ, of which the only condition of membership should be a sincere desire and an honest effort to live in accordance with our Saviour's two great commandments, upon which he assures us 'hang all the law and the prophets.'"

SHALL WE DISCONTINUE MAKING CREEDS A REQUISITE OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP?

BY CHARLES MALCOLM DOUGLAS

I SUPPOSE that the Church will continue to associate a creed with its membership for a good while to come, and for a simple reason: Because everybody that belongs to a Church insists upon having a creed of some sort. You may not like that or you may, but that is what they do.

They insist. No man who accepts or asks for Church membership does it without bringing to that membership some beliefs which seem to him to be vital and important, and those beliefs are his creed.

I have been looking around the world for a long time for a creedless Church or a creedless man. I cannot find one. And those Churches—and there are some—who advertise that they are creedless are either piously deluded or singularly misinformed about themselves. I fall in love with the beautiful ideal portrayed by the Bishop of Southern Ohio; I wish that it might come to pass in my lifetime, but I cannot live as long as that. It will be a very long while before we get to that beautiful ideal which seems to me to be the ideal of Jesus in the highest form that we can think of Him.

Now, I would like to come to the mitigations. I do not think that the Church is going to be rough and brutal and nasty about it; I think that the Church is going to make room for Traditionalists and Liberals of every sort, just as it is doing now this moment. I think that the Apostles' Creed will continue to be interpreted in a great variety of ways, just as is happening now, and that you people and the people of my profession, too, will go to those places in the Episcopal Church where the climate is salubrious and where they can get such interpretations as they find it really possible to accept. And those who set great store by a literal interpretation of the Creed will find somewhere a sympathetic reception, and those who are won down deep in their hearts by the beautiful heart of the Creed, they also will not lack a gateway of entrance, and the Church will take them both in and no man will be excluded; no Literalist, for instance, even if, like that amiable Mr. Dick in Dickens' "David Copperfield," he is obsessed by the constant vision of the noble head of Charles the Martyr. And no man will be shut out because he finds that he is unable to believe traditional

accounts of Christ's entrance into or departure from the world. And the Literalists and the Symbolists, the two sides of it, will continue to argue as they do now, all the time, day and night, and to furnish matter for the ecclesiastical and the secular press. And the Church, when it has time, will listen to the arguments and shelter both of them, and no man who desires fellowship with God or seeks to follow Jesus Christ and wants to be filled with the Spirit will be banished or excluded from the Christian community.

SHALL WE DISCONTINUE MAKING CREEDS A REQUISITE OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP?

By George A. Peck

IF it were not for the fact that our good friends the Germans had made a wonderful discovery in medicine, which was a great benefit to the nerves, I would not be before you this evening, and I would be afraid to take many more of those pills of medicine lest my nerves would so improve that I would go and start a religion of my own. As I listen to our beautiful speeches and our beautiful teachers I am very much impressed with what Jesus said to those with whom He came in contact. I feel out of place here with you to-night, because our Bishop did not read my full title. My full title said "A workingman." I didn't get my credit. But when I stop to think that Jesus didn't come among such people as you to select his disciples, then I don't feel so very much out of place when I think of my environment. I hardly know how to begin, but this is what I would say. I have longed often for an opportunity to speak to people in this condition and under these discussions.

"In the onward march of progress and development of mind,
Creed-bound churches and their clergy have forever lagged behind.

The inscriptions on the milestones guiding mankind through the years
Have been written and rewritten by the thinker's blood and tears.
In each struggle of the masses for their rights and better laws,
Creed-bound churches and their clergy have upheld the tyrant's cause."

Think it over. Why is it that our Church, why is it that our teachers of religion, our teachers of Jesus Christ, will not teach nor preach nor practise the very things that Jesus Christ told them to do? As I said, I am a workingman. I am one of your laymen. I was born in the Roman Catholic Church. When I got a little older and a little wiser I changed to the Episcopal Church. Now I am about to drop the Episcopal Church. You remember what Jesus said. Now, remember. Why can't some of you be such radicals as Jesus Christ was? The most radical teacher, probably, that ever appeared upon the face of the earth was Jesus Christ. He said, "Ye have heard, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you, Love your enemies." Just think of it! Love your enemies in this day and generation! There was no such thing ever heard of before. Then he said, "Go out and preach the gospel to all the world, but take not for your services. Don't even have two coats." Who has got them? We are afraid to preach and teach anything, because we will say "it is business." We are afraid to talk co-operative banks, co-operative stores, co-operative building societies, because we think it is "business." We don't see the point with our education, our civilization, the highest pinnacle of which is to get all you can anyway you can from anyone you can. Surely the Christian Church of Jesus Christ is not going to uphold and back that up in future generations.

I thank you.

Bishop SLATTERY. I know we all thank Mr. Peck, and we hope that he will stay in the Episcopal Church.

SHALL WE DISCONTINUE MAKING CREEDS A REQUISITE OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP?

By George Ashton Oldham, D.D.

YEARS ago I was told that it took about a generation for the knowledge of scientists to reach the laity, and the lay folk are about twenty-five years behind technical scholars. I was therefore quite surprised to-night to hear a scientist betray his ignorance of the knowledge of the Church and the clergy of much more than a generation ago. In the very conservative General Theological Seminary, which I attended just about twenty-five years ago, I received teachings about the Bible that were far more radical than I had received in my university, and I can assure the doctor that nobody that I know who graduated from that seminary, and nobody that I knew in my congregation of intelligent people, no one that I know to-day among my associates who are at all intelligent, has any such idea of the Bible as he seems to think Christian people accept and the creeds were based upon. This is a favorite resort of scientists, often not consciously dishonest, often due to ignorance, setting up a straw man representing the religion of people a generation or two ago, or the religion they knew in their Sunday-school days and have not progressed from since, and then knocking that man down and thinking they have done a great service to truth. I protest against that sort of thing, especially before an enlightened audience such as this. Moreover, the whole of the gentleman's argument from that point where he made his premise that the creeds were based upon an inerrant Bible falls to the ground, because the creeds are based upon no such thing. The Church was in existence, and the creeds in germ were in existence, before the Bible was written, long before it was combined into the canonical books. If the Bible had been

blotted out of existence the teaching of the Church producing a creed would have continued in existence. While we stand upon the Bible to prove the Creed, nevertheless it is not true, historically or theologically, that the Creed is based upon the theory of the literal inerrancy of the Holy Scripture. Consequently, that premise being false, the rest of the argument, which really belonged on the subject which I am going to try to treat on Friday, Fundamentalism, scarcely applies to-night.

I got up chiefly, however, to lend my support, though it is not needed, to Bishop Hall's position. He may get a chance to say something on that himself. I am at a loss to understand why scientists who pride themselves on evolution and development want evolution and development everywhere except in religion. It is a characteristic of primitive forms of life that they are simple, undifferentiated, and as they progress they become more complex; and why does not the same truth apply to religion? Our boasted civilization to-day is a very complex thing, but would you go back to the African jungle or to primitive conditions? The same law of evolution, if it is a universal law,—and that is the thing they are telling us and we are glad to accept,—must apply to religious truth as to all others, and therefore we are to expect something more articulate, something more complex, in the expression of faith as time goes on. Bishop Hall's point is extremely well taken. The question is, when you are asked to believe in the name of Jesus what do you mean? We have got to define that, otherwise the person may give his assent dishonestly or ignorantly, the last thing any scientific man would want done. "What do you mean by Jesus Christ?" Then we are in the realm of definition. I think it could easily be shown that the expansion of the Creed in almost its entirety is simply the expression of what the original Christians meant when they asked their followers to believe in that simple, essential thing.

And one more point. I deny from my own experience as a pastor and rector that there are many thousands of people staying out of the Church because of the Church's creeds. If they are, there are plenty of other Churches they may go into. I am inclined to think that that is often an excuse.

SHALL WE DISCONTINUE MAKING CREEDS A REQUISITE OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP?

By Hiram Richard Hulse, D.D.

I WOULD like to bring the discussion back to the real subject. We are not talking about creeds. Of course, with very few exceptions, we all agree with Bishop Hall; that is what I have been trying to preach all the days of my ministry. That is not the question. The question is not as to creeds or whether the Church has a creed. Of course it has a creed. The question is, what is to be required of those who enter the Church's membership? Shall we require of them belief in the formulated creed of the Church? Now, what did our Lord do? When our Lord asked men to follow Him, He simply asked them to follow Him. How did the disciples, those who finally came to believe that our Lord was divine—how did they come to believe that? In the beginning they simply followed Him as a great master, a great teacher. Presently, after they had lived with Him for some time, they came to understand that He was something more than a great teacher. That could not possibly explain His personality; just exactly how much more, they were not always sure. And presently they came to see, some of them, that He must be the promised Messiah. That did not lead them yet to full belief in the divinity of our Lord, but it

did lead some of them to believe in His Messiahship. Then there came His death, and the very fact that at His death they were scattered abroad showed that they had not come even then to have that full and complete belief in Him which we to-day ask of those who enter upon Church membership. And then came His resurrection, and then He appeared to them, and then finally He appeared to St. Thomas; and you remember that it was St. Thomas who made the first confession, "My Lord and my God." It was only as a result of living for three years with our Lord, following Him, subjecting their wills gradually to His will and so coming to understand what He really was—it was only as a result of that that the disciples themselves came to entertain the full belief in our Lord's divinity.

Well, is not that just exactly the way with people to-day? How are people going to understand that our Lord is divine? We say it in the creeds and a great many people in one way or another assent to it in the Creed. Most of those who come to be baptized, when they say they believe all the articles of the Christian faith, do not do it at all. What they really do is that they assent to what the Church believes.

Now in the interest of reality—you have heard a great deal about those who are so intelligent that they cannot accept the Creed. Now I don't know how many of them there may be. Bishop Oldham says there are none and the Doctor says there are a great many. But in the interest of the poor, those who are not especially intelligent but who want to make their baptism a real thing, in the interest of reality let us ask no more than our Lord asked. If they are willing to follow Him as the first disciples did, then presently, I am sure—I know—after they have lived with Him in the companionship of the Church's Sacraments, in the companionship of other Church people, they too, like the disciples, will come to know that no other word can explain Him than "My Lord and my God."

CLOSING OF THE DISCUSSION

Bishop SLATTERY. There are no other voluntary speakers and there are six minutes left before ten o'clock, and I shall therefore ask Dr. Foley and Bishop Hall if they will take three minutes each to close the discussion.

Dr. FOLEY. The Bishop of Peterborough said, "The man who speaks extemporaneously is either under the pressure of a great necessity or is guilty of a crime."

As I had not thought of closing the discussion I am sure I cannot present the matter in any effective way, except I should like to say this: I believe that the last speaker has put his finger on a tender point. That is to say, a good deal of the discussion has not been a discussion of the question before the house. The question only is this: Not in the least whether the Church has a creed or should have a creed or how long it ought to be, or any of those details; the question is this: Does baptism mean personal discipleship to Jesus Christ? If it does, ought we to ask of anybody who wants to be a real follower of the Lord Jesus any other thing than the affirmation of that desire? And therefore it seems to me that my effort was worth while, although it seems to have fallen on stony ground, that is to say, to show historically that this has been the real attitude of the Church until Anglicanism insisted upon our assent to all these articles. And that other point that I made I think is worth your consideration. There are things in that Creed that have no conceivable relation to personal religion. What is the use of foisting these things upon even the attention of a beginner in Christ? The sole question is, ought the promises in baptism to include this drastic demand? Because, with all due respect to the Bishop Coadjutor of Albany, I do not know thousands, but some of the noblest men I have ever known since I became a Christian clergyman have been kept out of the Church confirmation. They have been baptized

as children and kept out of the Church as conscious, recognized members thereof on their own part because of that promise about the Apostles' Creed.

Bishop HALL. I should like to make two criticisms on Dr. Foley's paper. One of them is this: He said—I think I am right in my remembrance—that full instruction had been given in the whole of the creed in preparation of candidates for baptism, as was evidenced in the catechetical lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. Well, if full instruction had been given in the whole creed in preparation for baptism, it does not seem to me to be very strange that a mere summary of the creed should be required at the actual moment of the administration of the sacrament.

Then my second point is this—perhaps this is hypercritical: Dr. Foley said that the creeds had grown—of course they have—and article after article had been added. And he gave us one instance, the article concerning the descent into hell. Now in the interest of accuracy I want to point out, not to him—it must have been a slip on his part—but to you, that the descent into hell is not an article of the creed; it is only one clause in the article which contains also the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. You will see at once that I am right if you will take one of your American prayer books and look at the creed and how it is punctuated. A colon marks the separation between articles of the creed. Between the descent into hell and the resurrection from the dead you will find only a semicolon. That is merely a clause in the article of the creed; an article was not added.

Then—I do not think this will be hypercritical, though it will be only repeating what I had said before—it is in reply to a good many suggestions that have been made. It is quite impossible for us to put ourselves back—which is what is really proposed—into the attitude and position of the disciples, Peter and John or any of them, before the resurrection and the gift of the Holy Spirit. Of course they were stum-

bling; of course they were only feeling their way; but when they had been convinced by the resurrection and illuminated by the Holy Spirit, what is the good of our trying to put ourselves back into their earlier stage when we ought to claim to be the heirs of all the ages?

PART V

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO THE SOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO THE SOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

By William H. Barr

I DEEPLY appreciate the compliment of your invitation. You expect of me, I assume, a frank exposition of industrial views. I happen to be an employer, and the executive of a large group of manufacturers, the National Founders' Association. I, therefore, undertake to interpret to you a point of view which I trust will be representative, but which nevertheless will express only an opinion from an individual. I must speak too, not alone as one engaged in directing those who co-operate with me in the tasks of production, or yet as an adviser of fellow employers. Like them, I hope that I am, first of all, a man and a citizen, for I should indeed deem it a misfortune to have it said of me that I was born a human being, but died a manufacturer; nor have I found in modern life, within my experience, that there is any point of view so narrow as that which is often made the subject of sermons and dissertations; that of the man who has become an employer only.

I moreover coincide that all truth is one. Wherever it be found, it is the conformity of thought to things, whether it be spiritual or economic. Truth originates in the same divine creation and the same set of relations, whether we examine them from the point of view of economics or morals, as ministers or manufacturers, as Churchmen or business men. It cannot, therefore, be that right economics can be wrong morals, or that the spiritual law can conflict with the economic.

I say this because I have been at times impressed with the suggestion from ecclesiastical sources that it is possible to improve social conditions by disregarding economic facts. I confess that such recommendations have always seemed more likely to result, if followed, in the permanent injury of those to whose interest they were ostensibly addressed.

I have observed, for example, that eminent Churchmen give ready support to what is vaguely described as "the demand for a new social order," by declaring among other things that the present state of civilization has produced an unequal and unfair distribution of wealth. It is said that "two per cent of the population own 60 per cent of the wealth."

Now I was taught to believe, as an American, that inequality in possession was the inevitable result of the preservation of equality of right and opportunity. For, since the Almighty Dispenser of all talent distributed it unevenly, the inevitable result of its exercise, conditioned by the development of character, is the widest variation in success. Inequality in fortune is, therefore, the unavoidable result of preserving the exercise of personal liberty.

James Madison emphasized the sound economic foundation of our government system, when he declared that it was the primary purpose of government to protect the differing capacity of men to acquire and use property. He saw in that fact all the consequences that express themselves in the political and social aftermath of American life. I am sure that the moral significance of Madison's declaration is not less plain to you than the material results of its operation.

Let me then, with your indulgence, undertake to present some economic facts, and the relations which have arisen out of them, in the hope that you will agree that the distribution of wealth to which I have referred is not entirely unbalanced and that its implications may be erroneous.

Having thus established some of these circumstances of

our social life, I shall be in a better position to respond to your inquiry: What, in your opinion, should be the relation of the Church to them? Other people have other talents and reputations for other things than wealth may satisfy in all arts and sciences.

I assume that you agree with me that social power rises out of the control which men obtain over the forces of nature in the eternal contest which we, of necessity, wage with her. Our standard of living depends in turn upon the improving standards of production in all industries. It has risen steadily in all human history, as we multiply the power of the human hand. Social power has not been advanced by an increase in physical strength, but chiefly by the continuing application of the mind to the consolidation of the facts of the universe.

As we penetrate the secrets of nature, analyze them in the laboratory, apply them through the arts of invention, and by organization and administration make them available to the service of men, we enlarge the capacity of the earth to support life upon an ever improving scale of convenience and comfort. Thus we place at our disposal an ever larger surplus of wealth, out of which to support the finer and nobler things of life.

It took England five centuries to add four millions to her population. Then in the first eighty years that followed the Industrial Revolution it increased eight millions. It is thus that improvement in the industrial arts permanently enlarges the capacity to support life and ennobles its quality.

Now let us ask ourselves, is that capacity for physical production improving? Are the wages paid increasing in buying power? Is the wealth produced being more fairly distributed? or has it a dangerous tendency towards concentration? What is the practical way to enlarge the share of "labour" in such production? Are our productive methods wasteful? and how may they be improved?

Surely these are intensely practical questions, and the relation of moral principle to their every circumstance is of vital importance.

In the days when political economy was a mere "dismal science," few of these inquiries could have been answered. To-day the effective research economist tries to speak plain language, which ordinary men understand, and to present facts that are of practical importance in the direction of business operation. So we can ascertain to-day, with fair accuracy, that while during the last forty years our population about doubled, our physical production has trebled.

As to wages, our real concern is whether in the long run they show a substantial increase in buying power. From time to time in particular industries and localities they are likely to show a relative decline, but taking the swing of a quarter century, they reflect a steady general increase.

And here let me say that I think the infallible test of progress is the earnings and condition of the great body of labour, but no means have yet been found to sustain or increase wages, save by sustaining or increasing production.

The very fallacious idea is abroad that wages should be arbitrarily determined by an employer on the basis of an employee's needs. I believe that such action cannot be taken without dangerous risk to the stability of the business involved. Wages are safely determined only by the production of the individual employee and the condition of the business. There is not a successful employer, past, present, or future, who does not know this to be a fact.

It is out of the preaching of such false economic doctrines that confusion has arisen and distrust has been generated. Much of this preaching—in fact most of it—has been done by those outside of industry. If, therefore, men would cease to treat as experts questions about which they have little opportunity for practical analysis, it would do much to clear the mists of misunderstanding.

As a specific example let me suggest that if, for instance, a shirtmaker produced daily ten shirts worth $2.00 each, and his wages are $4.00, he would be receiving one-fifth of his product. If by increasing his skill, or the adoption of improved methods, he doubles the number of shirts, and his wage is still one-fifth of his product, he receives $8.00 instead of $4.00. Where wages respond to efficiency, it must be clear that the more highly he is paid, the greater is the profit for him who employs him.

Reverse the process and the effects of inferior or restricted production point an inevitable counter conclusion.

Moreover, the stimulation of a particular industry energizes the dependent industries which contribute to it, and thus they expand with its development. But out of the sale of the product, whatever it is, must be paid all who contribute to it. Thus the price which is paid for a chair must reward all who contributed to its production from him who felled the tree from which came the wood, to the merchant whose sale placed it on this platform. If any among the human contributors receive more than their due share, someone receives less than his proportion.

It follows, then, that if any factor is powerful enough to place an artificial and uneconomic charge upon his service, for which he makes no corresponding contribution, he does so, not merely at the expense of an employer, whoever he may be, but rather at the expense of other employees who must contribute to his arbitrary exaction, by receiving less than their proportionate due for the service which they contribute.

At this point let me say that the rate of wages is not a matter to be arranged solely between the employer and employee depending upon the concessions which either makes to the other. It is fixed by laws as immutable as that which sends the torrent to the foot of Niagara. The wage-earner's return depends on the market value of his product,

and nothing else. If this is not clear, let us analyze my preceding illustration.

If the shirtmaker undertook to pay the worker more than is his contribution to the value of the shirt, he merely accelerates his own movement towards bankruptcy. If, on the other hand, he induces the labour to accept less, he may secure a temporary increase of profit, but the moment unusual profit is shown in any particular industry it attracts the attention of capital seeking investment, and it moves into any tempting field to compete with the capital already invested there. It immediately proceeds to offer a competitive wage for the labour engaged in the older establishments, and our friend, the shirtmaker, must meet that competition, or surrender to it.

There is then, a plain competition affecting the wage rate —that of workers for employment, which may tend to lower wages, and the competition of capital for investment, which tends to increase them. But the competition of capital for investment is keener than that of workers for employment, because that form of capital is more mobile, and can shift its investments more rapidly and easily than the worker his place of employment.

A considerable difference in wages may not induce persons to remove even short distances because of social attachments, but the difference of a fraction of a per cent in the rate of interest moves capital from one continent to another.

I have, of course, spoken of competitive conditions. Again, if a group of manufacturers obtain control of production or territory through artificial monopoly, they may affect prices, but they must still compete with other employers of labour for the amount of service they desire.

On the other hand, if workers, through organization can limit the number of those who may engage in a particular calling, or be instructed in a trade, or limit the amount

that may be produced, or through legislative intervention require that two must be employed to do the work of one, such labour monopoly may obtain an artificial reward. But unless it be in an essential industry, like construction or transportation, it will surely turn investment towards safer fields. While its monopoly endures and controls, it levies an artificial tax upon its fellow workers, who must live under shelter, and pay rent, and who must buy everything into which the cost of freightage enters. Such monopolies are plainly as injurious in their social consequences as any which can be imagined for the control of prices.

I mention these considerations because they find familiar illustration in our everyday life.

Further, there is prevalent in the minds of many outside of industry the vague idea that the term "brotherhood of man" means that the weaker members of society should be subsidized by the strong and as a result receive more than they earn. The fact remains, however, that the economics of the Almighty are more sound than the theoretical economics of many sentimental reformers, for the laws of economics are as much God's law as are the Ten Commandments, and he who teaches unsound economic law is as misleading as he who teaches wrong spiritual law. The analysis and solution of economics have been studied seriously for a long time by men as well fitted to their task as is the minister to become a specialist in the development of spiritual character.

There is also a fatal delusion that our national income is a sort of fixed quantity, out of which the rich and the strong take what they please. The opposite delusion is that the more men who are employed on a given task, the better for the worker. The truth is that labour fixes its own wage by the increase of its own skill or effort, or those other qualities that make for larger reward.

This has been well stated by General Walker, who ranks

among the most practical of our economic thinkers, and referring to the wage-earner's share, says:

"So far as, by their energy and work, their economy in the use of materials, or their care in dealing with the finished product, the value of that product is increased, that increase goes to them by purely natural laws, provided only competition be full and free. Every invention in mechanics, every discovery in the chemical art, inures directly and immediately to their benefit, except so far as a limited monopoly may be created by law for the invention and discovery."

Nothing is plainer than the steadily demonstrated tendency for larger distribution of the net product of our industries to the wage-earner. On the other hand nothing is unfortunately more clear than the demand by the State for a larger proportion of our national output for non-productive purposes in the form of taxes.

The National Bureau of Economic Research, a body whose investigations are so representatively supervised that they are not open to the suspicion of control by any interest, estimates that of the net product of mines, factories, and land transportation, the wage-earner received about 74.8 per cent during the period from 1909 to 1915, while beginning in 1917 and to 1919 the share of labour rose in 1918 to 77.3 per cent, and 1919 was probably about 80 per cent. From the investigations of the same authority it is equally clear that from 1909 to 1918 the manual workers and clerical employees received about 93 per cent of the total payroll, while the salaries paid to officials averaged less than 7 per cent.

The thought is also in the minds of many that an undue portion of the income of our industries goes into the high salaries of supervising executives. Quite apart from the definite value of that service, such does not happen to be the fact. For instance, the total salaries of all the general officers in excess of $3,000 per annum, on the Class 1 railroads of

the United States in 1919, amounted to $46,783,275, as compared with the total payroll of $2,828,000,000, or about 1½ per cent of all compensation. If therefore, no compensation at all was paid to executives and the entire sum allotted to their recompense was passed on to direct labour the total possible increase in their pay from this source would be 1½ per cent, or a negligible amount. This situation is applicable to industry in general.

The most careful students of the concentration of national income are now clearly of the opinion that from 70 to 75 per cent of the produce of industry goes normally to its wage-earners, while the remainder is distributed in business, trade, and commerce, and to both salaried and professional men; and out of these remainders must be provided replacements, rents, and the expansions of reproductive industry.

Nor do profits go into a few hands, but rather into those of millions of shareholders in every form of enterprise. It has recently been estimated by Colonel John W. Prentiss, President of the Investment Bankers Association, that such stockholders total twenty-five million in the United States, or an average of one person in every family.

As to practicable methods to increase the share of labour in its product, the answer is necessarily found in a willingness to accept constantly improving methods of production as the basis of advance. It is, of course, easy to present a plan which will increase the share of labour in a particular product by a given amount, but if the scheme should be impractical that would leave the wage-earner worse off than before.

It is therefore obvious that if we increased annually our national savings, we could enlarge our means of producing our wealth more rapidly, and could equip ourselves with greater scientific facilities for developing and applying improved methods and bettering our general life. But we are struggling now to maintain the essential rate of savings neces-

sary for replacements and developments to sustain our present standards of production, as against the constant effort to enlarge the share which shall be devoted to government functions, that is now taking one dollar in every eight of our national income, and which passes away in non-productive effort.

Of course, much is said about the wastes of industry, and there is no doubt much to be gained in identifying and overcoming these, but there is also much overstatement of their nature and extent. It is impractical to hope for 100 per cent efficiency in any human effort. A theoretical plan can readily be proposed for any industry at a given date and under given conditions, and with a theoretical personnel, but this would not be suitable for the everyday requirements of practical establishments. The actual test, as I see it, is whether or not we are always gaining.

It has been well said by a prominent engineer, that a great oak may spend one hundred years of life scattering a million acorns, in order that one tree may survive its parent. If that be a better tree than its predecessor, all the apparent waste has resulted in high gain. The economic system therefore which shows the greatest advance from year to year is socially and economically the best, even if it possesses theoretical defects.

I have enumerated and analyzed certain fundamental economic considerations, because I believe they have been frequently ignored by many Churchmen who sincerely desire to make practical contributions to the betterment of social conditions. I submit that no condition of human environment is to be improved by ignoring economic, any more than spiritual truth, nor by sonorous phrases which fill the ear without illuminating the mind.

To go a step further, is production to be enlarged or wages increased by calling for "democracy in industry," if that phrase is intended to convey the idea that supervision

and management shall be deliberately delegated to the unproven, or that the responsible directors of enterprises are to be chosen by lot rather than by demonstrated equipment for their task?

Dr. John R. Commons, a widely accepted Liberal, has met all such suggestions with this frank declaration: "Experience shows that neither politics nor labour as a class can manage industry, nor assume the responsibilities of management. Industry cannot be efficiently managed on the basis of popular election of the boss. Efficient managers are self-made in the struggle for profits."

I venture therefore to urge upon your great body that you frankly undertake to provide spiritual teaching as an aid to economic leadership as your major contribution to the betterment of employment relations. I think our Church risks its badly needed spiritual influence by mingling with it the support of theoretical or even possibly sound political and social panaceas. Now do not think I am urging you to become missionaries of workingmen. I accept for employers the high responsibilities of superior opportunity and demonstrated ability. Few executives in our day obtain authority through inheritance. They must win it or they cannot sustain it. Every wage-earner carries in his knapsack the baton of management. This is no theory, but mere recognition of the evidence that surrounds us in every department of production, commerce, and transportation. The higher the place which men occupy, the greater their need to recognize their individual responsibilities. They must lead in example as well as precept; for moral responsibility goes with every station of life. It finds its expression in this highly complex and intricate industrial society of ours in a new form—that each man shall accept the responsibility of his job, whether he be manager or employee. An interdependent civilization demands that, in terms of our position, we shall accept social as well as individual obligations. The man who undertakes

to paralyze transportation or the fuel supply ignores that application, as does the management which for trivial reasons excites by injustice a dangerous social reaction.

Again, I assume that you will agree with me that the best citizen abhors the establishment of power without the acceptance of corresponding responsibility for its exercise. That applies to corporate employers and labour union leaders alike. The former has been surrounded by a network of legal regulation, holding him to an exacting answer for his conduct. The latter forms and directs armies, ofttimes no more responsible for the injury which they may inflict than a thunderbolt from the sky, and unfortunately they resist every effort to create legal accountability.

And this, I submit, is not a legal but a moral issue. Above all, I turn to the Church to illustrate as only it can, that most fundamental of all issues, the creation of character. Given that, all else follows. Without it, all else is lost. It cannot be established by command or direction. It is fundamentally a product of the fireside. The Church is at once the support of the parent, the guide of the child; and if it is to maintain its spiritual authority must be the firm protector against all those innovations which undertake to substitute the statutes of men for the commandments of God, and the regulations of government for the control of that interior voice, for which there is no substitute.

In all the incidents of our complicated life, in all the social problems that loom on our horizon, in all the delicate relationships that arise out of our industrial civilization, and in all those fine compromises and balances that necessarily lie in the pathway of sympathetic human relations, no policy, no precept, no rule can be shaped or offered that does not rest upon an ultimate appeal to a moral quality that must be built within us. In the words of a great divine: "We do well to remember that, after all is said and done, in the final round up, character is the only thing that counts."

That, we must strengthen and not weaken—the duty of strength is to help turn weakness into strength. Not in increased dividends or larger wages, but in a new sense of personal strength and quicker conscience; not in new fashioned machinery, but in old-fashioned virtues lies our salvation as a people. Virtues as old as humanity and as lasting as God—to arouse and maintain individual moral principles, to hold them aloft without fear or favour in the face of employer and employee, is the great need of our day and, to my mind, the first function of our Church.

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO THE SOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

By John Howard Melish, D.D.

MAY I be permitted to describe my paper as, first, the Christian approach, and second, as the approach of the Christian to the solution of industrial problems? I would point out first what the Christian ideal finds wrong in the industrial system; and then I would show how we Christian men and women are meeting or failing to meet the problem.

I

Three hundred and four years ago forty-one men met in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and signed a compact. In that immortal document they recorded their purpose in forming a new commonwealth. An American, holding high office in the cynical days succeeding the World War, declared that the purpose of America is to maintain its own safety and advance its own prosperity: idealism, he added, is a beautiful sentiment that only confuses the purpose of the Nation. But in the cabin of the *Mayflower* the men who formed America declared that their purpose was the glory of God, the advancement of the Christian Faith, and the honour of king and country. In the pursuit of that high end, they said they would from time to time frame just and equal laws and submit themselves to them. Their aim was not to continue things as Europe knew them but to set up things as they ought to be; not to reproduce the institutions they had

known there but to create a new commonwealth in accordance with God's ordinances. Outside of religion there could be no human interest; everything they did they were bound to do as Christian men.

"Everything they did they were bound to do as Christian men." This is the intellectual and religious justification for a Christian approach to industry. Is a man in business? Then he must be a Christian in business. Is a man in politics? Then he must be a Christian politician. Is he a member of a labour union? Then he must be a Christian unionist. Is he a Churchman? Then, mirabile dictu, he must be a Christian in the Church. "Christian theology," I saw it stated recently, "has emphasized, primarily, the attitude of submission in social relations, and to this end has worked out fear-inspiring doctrines of an avenging God and eternal punishment, which might be escaped by a formal observance of the ecclesiastical requirements." *What* Christian theology has done that? Not the Christian theology of the men in the *Mayflower,* not the theology of the men who founded America, not the theology of the men who reformed Europe in the sixteenth century, nor the theology of the men who conquered the Roman Empire for Christ in the first three centuries. The religion preached by Christ and the Apostles was one of love *and resistance* even to the point of the sacrifice of life.

In its presentation of the relation between employers and workmen, however, the Church has emphasized love and overlooked resistance. The benevolent treatment of workers by the employers has been preached as a duty. This was good so far as it went but where it was taught that benevolence exhausted the Biblical view it failed to express the mind of Christ. "Be not ye called benefactors," said He to his disciples. His aim was to make men free, not subservient. There is a glaring inequality in personal freedom between the propertyless man and a member of the class

that lives by owning. In a Southern mill or a Western mining town the workers are daily under the dictation of their employers. Their children are educated in company schools, the Churches are supported by company money, the library, if there is one, is filled with books bearing company approval. I know of mill towns where young people are even forbidden to seek work in the neighbouring city. What is the moral sanction for this dictation? Benevolence. But benevolence is no more a Christian sanction than is the starvation which is supposed to be optional. What is true of such places is in a sense true of our entire industrial system. Men are free merely to quit work and hunt another job; which is only a theoretical freedom. "Each for all and all for each, as the elephant said, when he danced among the chickens in the barnyard!" Something deep in man, something of God Himself, bids men be free indeed. When the Church has failed to recognize this, when it has taught submission to working people and benevolence to employers, the masses in whom class consciousness has developed have turned their backs on the Church.

The traditional relation of employer and employee is not only not in accord with the spirit of the religion of Christ but it is not in accord with the facts of industry. Who is the employer in a great modern corporation? The general manager? He is often an employee himself. The Board of Trustees? The stockholders? In the last analysis the employer is the individual or the financial group that has the economic control of the enterprise. Such joint stock companies are organized on the plan of "one share, one vote." Such an arrangement locates power in money. One crafty person who has a hundred shares can outvote ninety-nine righteous men who have a share apiece, and a small minority can outwit all the rest if it holds a majority of stock. "Money talks," money, not life, character, or personality.

The working people as they have come to see this, find

themselves without any bitterness towards the men who manage the enterprise; they know that their managers and superintendents are employees like themselves, hired and fired by an unseen power which resides perhaps a thousand miles from the mine, the mill, or the yard. Moreover, they appreciate the work of the managers and office force and recognize them as producers equally with themselves; nor would they reduce the 7 per cent which Mr. Barr has just said goes to the executives. In the so-called Plumb Plan, which has been adopted by the Railway Brotherhoods and the Miners Unions it is definitely recognized that modern production or transportation is a threefold enterprise. Management, the workers, and the public are accorded vital parts in the industrial organization. A similar condition is found in the great co-operative Societies where the plan is "one man, one vote." The man who holds one share has as much voting power as a man with ten shares; his personality counts. It is not money power that directs, but character, sobriety, and good judgment. Under our present system of large-scale production the law of Mammon rules. Our task as Christians is to bring production under the law of Christ. It is not the type of individual that counts in these great corporations but the organization which individuals are attempting to run. The individual may be the best of men, a Christian man in every sense. But a system based on Mammon is not fit for the rule of Christ.

"By their fruits, ye shall know them," said the Master. He was referring to men but the test is equally applicable to systems and institutions. The system of industry under which we live is characterized by large-scale factory production, ownership of the means of production by a few, the wage system, and other arrangements of a technical sort. It is also characterized by a mental attitude which regards private profits as the goal of industry, measures all things by their money values, subordinates human interests to property

interests, and makes ruthless competition or equally ruthless monopoly the way to success. The popular argument put forth in the defence of the present industrial system, as we have just heard from Mr. Barr, is its efficiency. All students agree that the system which is only 150 years old, achieved an initial success in increasing the wealth of the nation; and though wages were low, the continued pressure for a cheapening of production largely benefited the consumer. But about the middle of the 19th Century the system ceased to be a national advantage and began to be a national drawback. By the end of the third quarter of the 19th Century candid students everywhere came to realize that the competitive system, the system of letting each man get rich in his own way, had failed. And the reason for the change is its fruits: it produced what is called the class struggle, or the class war. This is the struggle of those who possess nothing but their labour to wrest from those who own the means of production an increasingly large share of the product. Almost constant suspicion between capital and labour is the result and open hostilities break out again and again. There is thus an underlying antagonism in our social life, a spirit entirely contrary to the Christian ideal of brotherhood.

The solution of the industrial problem involves, says the Archbishop's Report on Christianity and Industrial Problems, not merely the improvement of individuals, but a fundamental change in the spirit of the industrial system itself.

II

Let me now pass to the second part of my subject. I have spoken of the Christian approach, let me now speak of the approach of the Christian to the solution of industrial problems.

The approach of any one of us to this situation which affects us vitally at every moment of life will be determined by a variety of interests and ideas. If the Christian is a member of a Labour Union his approach will be one thing; if he is an employer in small-scale industry which he owns and where he can have personal contacts with the workers, it will be another thing; if he is a stockholder in one of the large-scale industries, or just an ordinary consumer, his approach will be still different from all the others. The Christian is no visitor from Mars, come down to earth with a heavenly view point nor has he a social programme delivered once for all to the saints. On the contrary, a Christian has inherited interests from his forbears and from infancy he has grown up in a group which has moulded these instincts and made them into more or less definite dispositions. Professor Wolfe of Ohio State University tells an interesting story of his experience with college students.[1] He had Juniors and Seniors in the discussion of social problems and quickly discovered that something was wrong. The students were not ready for profitable discussion of problems involving conflict of human interest and sentiments. They were characterized by the preconceptions, the prejudices, and the uncritical sentiments of the social stratum from which in most part college students come—that somewhat indefinite but exceedingly important part of the population known as the middle class. Their tendency was towards the dogmatic assertion and judgment on the basis of socially inherited sentiments of their class. Their criteria of criticisms and valuation were their own likes and dislikes. If that is true of American college students who are supposedly in possession of a modicum of liberal education and open-mindedness, how much now is it true of the rest of us? Most persons do not hesitate to entertain views and express opinions

[1] Wolfe: Conservatism, Radicalism and Scientific Method. Macmillan.

on social issues. But they are highly coloured by their own social view point.

Because of this fact our students of social psychology have divided us into three psychological groups. Wolfe calls the three dispositions social attitudes and names them respectively conservatism, radicalism, and scientific method. Williams described them as social types, called respectively the dominating type, the rivalrous type, and the sympathetic type. All these classifications are somewhat artificial and cannot be pressed too far but they are the best we have as yet.

This is the type of dominating personalities. They are characterized by orthodoxy in theology and reaction or conservatism in sociology. These Christians will do everything in their power to keep the Church safe for things as they are. Will do it, do I say? They are doing it. These Christians having fought their way up to be the controlling powers in the *industrial world,* will fight to keep their position. The dominating type dominate, as Edward Everett Hale would say. In 1921 such Christians, organized as an employers' association, sent out a letter to their members denouncing the social service departments of the various Churches for adopting a social creed contrary to their own. They also threatened such Churches with a withdrawal of funds. They succeeded in killing the Inter-Church movement because of its report on the Steel Strike and they have seriously crippled every social service department which depends upon its own Church for funds. In their public statements they have deplored the fact that "in large numbers the masses during the present generation have been drifting away from the Church." But they deplored more vehemently the tendency on the part of the Churches to experiment "with new and more or less radical principles of Christianity." They applauded the "old-fashioned Crusade" alleged to be made by "the larger bulk of all religious leaders." Such is the approach of some Christians to industrial prob-

lems. Is it the Christian Approach? Under the influence of this type religion is made to perpetuate industrial domination.

The second group are described by one social psychologist at least as the "rivalrous type"' of Christians. These Christians are not wedded to the old, either in theology or sociology; nor are they indifferent to the social problem. What interests them primarily is the upbuilding of the Church and its maintenance as a going concern in the community. They enlist in public causes which the community approves and think that they help to bring glory to the Church. The function of religion as viewed by these men is expressed in a letter to clients, sent out January 27, 1920 by a well-known agency which serves the interests of business men. "What is our real security for the stocks, bonds, mortgages, deeds, and other investments which we won? The real security . . . is the integrity of the community. The value of our investments depends not on the strength of our banks, but rather upon the strength of our Churches. . . . The religion of the community is really the bulwark of our investments and when we consider that only 15 per cent of the people hold securities of any kind and less than three per cent hold enough to pay an income tax, the importance of the Churches becomes even more evident. By all that we hold dear, let us from this day give more time, money, and thought to the Churches of our city, for (note this solicitude for the Churches) upon these the *value* of all we *own* ultimately depends."

Finally, there is the third type of Christian called the sympathetic personality. They are human in their interests, progressive in sociology, but not invariably so in their theology. They say to the other two types: If it is to your interest to keep the masses under the influence of the Church, the teachings of the Church as to ownership and control of capital must not be such as to repel the masses. Here is

your dilemma: you must reach the masses, but how can you reach them when it is your industrial domination or your avoidance of disturbing issues that repels them? While you are trying to escape from one or the other of these horns we propose to have an open mind on this present social order. We propose to subject the present industrial system to the tests of the Christian principles of brotherhood, sacredness of personality, and service. And we propose to agitate in favour of a more Christian social order. If we are employers in small-scale industry we shall experiment in our own factories; if we are workmen we shall unite with our fellows and assert our right to organize; if we are members of the labour party we shall vote for a better standard of living, greater justice in the distribution of the wealth that labour helps to create, a democratic share in the control of industry; and if we are merely archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons we shall, in the words of the Archbishop's Report "urge our fellow Christians to ask themselves once more whether an economic system which produces the striking and, as we think, excessive inequalities of wealth which characterize our present society is one which is compatible with the Spirit of Christianity."

Such are the three general approaches to the solution of industrial problems which characterize us Christians to-day. Everyone in this audience probably has classified himself in one or other of these groups. But your classification may change to-morrow. One of my progressive friends in the ministry announced to me the other day that he has changed his point of view.

And when I asked the reason, being an honest mind, he replied, that he had just become the possessor of $10,000 worth of gilt edge securities. So we are all subject to change, like railroad time-tables, without notice, and for a variety of reasons and excuses. This is both the hope and the despair of all idealists. But once clearly recognized it becomes a

saving grace. And the Church which is the sum total of all our types will hold, as its attitude, the result of the conflict between these types; a conflict which will result in a compromise. The compromise will be unsatisfactory to everybody, and will therefore precipitate another conflict. But such is life in every social organization, economic, labour, politic, and the Church. Fixity of interpretation belongs to no creed, theological or sociological. Christian life is both love and resistance. And both principles should be active in us all; we should love the good and resist the bad in our own social attitudes and in our world.

In conclusion I desire to meet an objection which is frequently put to the sympathetic type by the class conscious worker outside the Church and which the sympathetic type within the Church also put to themselves. How influential in the Church is the sympathetic type? The women of the Church are moved by sympathetic impulses. In the ministry a large number of men may also be described as the sympathetic type. But though they have an attitude of sympathy they do not preach fearlessly and concretely the message for the situation. The reason for this is not cowardice but lack of understanding of the class conflict. In their ignorance they are suggestible to the attitude of employers. Many of the male members of the Churches are sympathetic but they are also painfully conscious of the power of organized capital and they see no way out. What the Church needs is progressive leadership. And I for one believe it is increasing in numbers and influence in the Church as well as in industry and in politics.

Progressive leadership, this is the Christian approach to the solution of the industrial problem. There is no panacea. When anyone declares there is, as Professor Peabody wrote years ago, the only motion that is in order is the motion to adjourn. We cannot even think out the industrial problem, we must work it out. But we *must* work it out. Drift or

mastery? That is the question. "We are witnessing a race," says H. G. Wells, "between education and catastrophe." But we are the racers and so will our children be.

Sympathetic leadership in pulpit and pew; men and women of thought and action, dreamers and yet practical men; prophets of the word of the living God and hearers, not hearers only but doers in the workshop of the world! Can the Church raise up such men and women? Did the Church raise up men in the days of Feudalism to announce that the lords were about to perish and democracy was at hand? Did the Church in the days of slavery have voices to announce that slavery as an institution must go? There were a few here in Boston and Boston mobbed them and declared the very name abolition anathema. Had such men spoken south of Mason and Dixon line they would not only have been mobbed, they would have been shot. But such is the call of the cross in every generation. Jesus the gentlest and most courageous of men stirred up the people to believe in the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven. And the beneficiaries of the kingdom of the world sent him to a cross. Paul turned the Roman world upside down, and the Roman sword silenced the eloquent tongue and rendered impotent the hand that proclaimed his words of flame.

The Son of God goes forth to war,
A kingly crown to gain:
His blood-red banner streams afar
Who follows in His train?
They climbed the steep ascent of heaven
Through peril, toil, and pain;
O God, to us may grace be given
To follow in their train.

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO THE SOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

By Mary Van Kleeck

I LIKE the statement of the subject this evening, the Christian Approach to the Solution of Industrial Problems, because it emphasizes the word "approach" rather than the word "solution." There is no final Christian solution, no set order which will be established immutably for all time upon this earth of ours; for what is Christian, what is truly Christian, is a vital, moving, growing thing, which affects the conditions of society about it, which is ever open to new experiments and new ideas, and yet has its source always in the everlasting, never changing love which is God, and there is no other immutable law of human relations. Whatever there is to which we object, or which violates our ideals of life in human relations, is simply our present failure to have arrived at an adequate expression of love in human life. On that point I disagree with Mr. Barr, but I also disagree with Dr. Melish when he says that the competitive order has failed, because, if I understand what he means by the competitive order, we have an order which we call competitive, out of which we firmly believe a greater, bigger thing will grow. It is not yet discarded, and it has not yet failed, and I agree with Mr. Barr that there are facts, conditions, which are rigid in a sense with which we must be in accord if we are to accomplish this task which we have.

We have not merely a hazy idealism to express in this Christian approach to industrial problems, but we have also

a technical task of no mean proportions, and the Christian approach to industrial problems must command the expert technical service of the managers in industry who are members of our Churches as it must also command the loyal co-operation of labourers, wage-earners, who are members of our Churches. But I believe also that this is not a matter only for those who are expert within industry, but in so far as it is a human problem there is not one of us who has not a right to speak.

Now, what is the Christian approach? From what point of view shall we begin to think of the Christian approach to industrial problems? An English preacher published a volume of sermons, one of which had two texts. The first was "Launch out into the deep." The second was "Sanctify in your hearts Christ the Lord." I need not remind this audience that the second follows closely those other words, "If ye should be persecuted for righteousness sake blessed shall ye be," and "Sanctify in your hearts Christ the Lord" in this human life of ours may bring suffering and persecution. And the other words, "Launch out into the deep," were the words of Christ when, having preached from the boat of Simon, He urged him, He asked him, to move out into the deep and let down his nets, and although Simon said, "We have toiled all the night and have gathered nothing," nevertheless he let down the nets into the deep waters, and the multitude of fishes was so great that the nets were nearly broken. It is only in the deep waters of human life that we shall find the truth in any of these problems.

What is meant by the phrase "Industrial problems" in our discussion to-night? First of all, I take it that by "industry," by the word "industrial," we do not mean only mines and factories, but we also mean railroads, and banks, and stores, and stock exchanges, and all the professions, we mean the whole network of economic relationships by which the work of the world is done. Moreover, if we are talking about a

Christian approach we do not mean simply the economic approach or the engineering approach. Although I think in a whole view of human life all our sciences must be consecrated to the Christian ideal, and to that extent become Christian in their approach in so far as they are genuinely expert, nevertheless what we really mean when we are discussing the Christian approach which has to do with the souls and hearts and minds of men is the problem known as the problem of human relations in industry, and that in the minds of many managers of industry to-day is the central point with which we have to deal. We are thinking not only of the men and women at the bench, we are thinking also of these men and women wage-earners in their own homes. We are thinking of their families. We are thinking of their children and of the opportunity for training those children, for giving them schooling prolonged enough to enable them to take their place as citizens. We are thinking of how much time and what kind of energies are left over from the day's work for the wage-earners in order that they may be citizens, participating in all the privileges and the duties of citizenship. We are thinking of industry in terms of what it brings into the families and into the home life, which is at the foundation of our communities to-day. These wage-earners are in the large majority in our population, hence this is a vital subject for groups of people who, like those in the Churches, make the home so great a concern of theirs.

We are thinking not only, then, of the homes of the wage-earners, we are thinking of the relation to their incomes of the investment of capital, which also is necessary for the carrying on of this business, and we are considering the relation to all this of the manager. It is not simply a question of what is the percentage division among those various groups; it is primarily a question of what the individual wage-earner and the family unit receive from the industry, and

it is also a question of the responsibility of mangement. Is management responsible to the workers in the plant, or is management solely or primarily responsible to the investors and to their representatives in the board of directors? There is the crux of one of our problems.

Looking out upon all of these related factors, the production in the shop, the efficiency of the wage-earner in the shop, and the reflection of all this in the homes of the community, we see this fact. We see that the invention of the machine, and the invention of the steam engine, which led to the transportation of goods from one part of the country to the other, making it possible, and the discovery of electric power and its use, have created a new material world, and in that world for the last one hundred and fifty years our Church has found itself placed. This present system of industry is not an institution which has extended through the ages, with laws handed down at the time that the Ten Commandments were handed down; it is a concrete condition beginning with the machine and extending with all its ramifications into many varied phases of our life. It is because of that, and because we cannot for one moment believe that there is anything in human life which is not within human control, that we cannot accept any idea of immutability in a system which is man made and man controlled. But, on the other hand, we would be very foolish if we did not recognize that the machine is a reality, and that it is by studying the instruments which we have to use that we can effectively use those instruments.

The invention of the machine came at a time when there were abroad in the land the ideas of the eighteenth century philosophers, the political ideals of the French Revolution with their emphasis upon the equality of every human being with every other human being, and the Protestant Reformation with its emphasis upon individual liberty, the power of the individual to carve out his own career in this world.

History almost in a spirit of comedy turned loose in that world a machine which could only be managed by many hands, and created a network of economic relationships in which the individual could only exist as one of a group, serving many people whom he never sees, and being served in turn by many others whom he never sees.

In the midst of all the confusion of relationships which were created out of that, is it any wonder that the Church went on teaching an entirely personal and individual religion, that the man who went out as a manager of industry, seeing that there were many other problems which had to be dealt with, which were not met by the particular interpretation that the Christian Church was giving, suddenly realized a dualism, the Church was for his personal relationships, but in the markets of the world and in the management of this economic and intricate machinery he must work out his own salvation, and the measure of his salvation must be business success? The market place became separated from the Church, and the Church had never really discovered what the religious meaning of this economic co-operative group might be, or how much light it might throw on the teachings of Jesus in its revelation of an economic order which lay ready to its hand really to demonstrate what co-operation actually means, because without co-operation our economic order must surely fail.

At the same time as the results of this work of the machine were discovered, as we started with the philosophy of *laissez-faire,* let the machine go on, we have invested a certain amount of capital in machinery, and of course we must keep it going as large a number of hours in the day as possible. Workers as well as managers accepted that situation and tried to produce as much as was possible. Gradually the discovery was made that hours were far too long, that health was being undermined, that little children were being used up, that wages were too low, that things were very much out

of gear. When that discovery was made by such people as Lord Shaftesbury and leaders in social reform, and also leaders in the management of industry and the groups of wage-earners who discovered that they must act together in organizations if they were to exert any control over this complicated machinery, then there developed a conflict between those who said "We must emphasize human values" and those who said "We are dealing already with a tremendously complicated thing, if you put sand to the wheels, if you upset this process by causing discontent among the workers, you will ruin the very source of service to society." I think it is quite understandable why we have a conflict, why management on the one hand is afraid of what it calls idealism, which has no relation to-day to the technique of industry. I think, on the other hand, we can see very clearly why it is that those who believe that humanity and human beings are greater than goods or profits are demanding that there be a fundamental change in our industrial order, but out of this conflict—and here is the encouraging thing, this is why I do not believe that we can say that the whole business has failed—out of this conflict there have been developed some very interesting discoveries.

Take, for instance, the fight for reduction of hours in the steel industry. You know the long history of that. You know how the Pittsburgh survey in 1907, by portraying how the steel workers felt under a system of twelve hours daily and seven days in the week, aroused certain people. You know how Mr. Cabot in Boston, taking seriously the responsibility of stockholders, secured the appointment of a stockholders' committee which recommended that that twelve-hour day and seven-day week be gradually reduced to six days and eight hours. Then through the years there was the conflict at once with the management of the steel industry, on the one hand, and the groups of people who were demanding in the name of human welfare that this thing be accom-

plished, and it is not much over a year ago that Judge Gary stated: "Socially the eight-hour day is desirable, economically it is impossible." Then a change came, and suddenly it was announced that the hours of work would be reduced from twelve to eight.

The Iron Age is a magazine of the steel industry, representing management. *The Iron Age* of last January gave very fully the reports of its staff representatives on the results of that gradual reduction, which has not yet been finally accomplished, so these are just the beginnings of results. From the Pittsburgh district, from the Chicago district, from Ohio, from the Lackawanna district, from all the big steel districts of the country, came these reports gathered by the representatives of the magazine which really represents management. Those reports were, first of all, unanimous as to the delight of the workers with this new arrangement, despite reduction in actual earnings under this new arrangement, and secondly, there were reports which varied for different districts. In some there was a greater increase in tonnage output per man than in others, but in all there had been some increase. In some the increase in tonnage output per man had been great enough to catch up with the condition before the reduction of hours, so that the actual cost of production had not increased.

It is a very curious thing that arithmetical laws don't apply in industry, that when you cut hours from ten to nine you don't cut production 10 per cent. When you cut wages you don't increase production or decrease costs. You may do just the opposite, because human beings don't act arithmetically. In addition to economic laws management in industry has to consider psychological laws, it has to consider the reaction of individuals to these conditions which are established, and every effort to follow the lead of the humanitarian demand by and large has demonstrated that the management of industry could respond to that, that the reduction

of hours actually meant, not in every instance, not in every department, but by and large, an increased efficiency, which enabled management to reap large returns both for itself and for the workers, and higher wages may mean lower costs of production. Those are the discoveries of scientific management to-day, and they are truisms in our shops, and our stores, and our mines, that we may gradually increase production by the establishment of these better conditions.

There was a message for 1924 on the cover of this same issue of the *Iron Age,* which contained this information, and it read like this:

"Isn't the key to better management to be found in the good will of the workers? Management is having increasing burdens. Labour displacing machinery may solve some of them, but are those not nearer right who say that the solution is to be found in human engineering?"

I turned to the record of social service of the General Convention after I read those words, to the Bishops' Pastoral Letter, and I found there the statement:

"We must emphasize the duty of every Christian to place human values first in the conduct of business,"

and I thought that the bishops and the editors of the *Iron Age* were in agreement. The best part of it was that the editors of the *Iron Age* were making that statement after an experiment in reduction of hours which was really a response to the demands of the Churches for the conservation of human life in the steel industry. We might quote other things of that kind. I am exceedingly optimistic over the results in industry of placing human values first.

Now let me add just one word on this subject of industrial democracy. The demand of industrial democracy is not that you can take a workman from his bench and put him in the chair of the president and let him do the work of the

president. The demand of industrial democracy does not change the specialization of industry, many members in one body, different functions for different groups of people. The demand of industrial democracy, like the demands of political democracy, is rather a recognition of human values and responsibility to human beings. When there is such an organization within the plant, or such a spirit within the plant, it enables the president to say, as I have heard the president of a big manufacturing concern say, "I have 20,000 customers. I have 3,000 employees. One of my employees is worth the proper arithmetical relation to that number of customers. I must put that much more energy into the building up of the good will of my employees." It is a question of attitude of mind. It is a question of direct responsibility to the various factors in industry. It is not an exchange of jobs which would throw into the hands of the man whose job is at the bench and who prefers the bench job the task of being the salesman, or the financial expert, or the student of the markets of the company. We may still have division, and we may yet have an equality in responsibility.

What are the steps in the Christian approach to the solution of industrial problems? Not the definite provisions which we are to establish, nothing definite about the economic order, because if we were to decide upon them we would fail to have a large enough programme. It is a vital process that must be started. First of all it seems to me it is a spirit of fellowship, that is, Churches which have in their fellowship only one class are not really ready to take part in working out this problem. First of all we must have the true spirit of fellowship in our Churches. We must somehow break up this spirit of exclusiveness which has made people actually in society measure their importance by the narrowness of the circle in which they move, whereas their importance should be measured in terms of the width of the

circle. When you heard Judge Cabot speak to-day on the standards of the modern home I am sure you felt that it rang true, because he knew the individuals of whom he was talking, and if we know those who are in industry we shall have the basis for our effort.

Then we must rediscover the idea of individual responsibility. We must lay upon all our professions and all our businesses the responsibility for working together to a common end. In order that we may know what that common end is we must rediscover the ideal of the kingdom of God, and we must realize that that is not a thing for the few, it is actually something here and now which, beginning in human hearts, is actually expressed in all the relationships of life, and what kind of city we build, what kind of factory we build, what kind of arrangements we make for our human relations, is simply the picture of our conception of the kingdom of God.

When Peter launched out into the deep, when he drew in the multitude of fishes, you will remember how he fell on his knees, and then came those words: "And they left all and followed him." Are the laymen of the Church of Christ to-day ready to answer that call?

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO THE SOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

By George A. Peck

I AM very glad that the Bishop, your Chairman, announced my title, because without my title my few words would not amount to much. I was afraid that perhaps he would do as he did last night, and not announce it, thinking perhaps that he knew that at the present time I have not any job.

I suppose if we were to tell our friend the shirtmaker one hundred and fifty years ago that we would have streets and roads without collecting a toll he could never see any way out of it. Some of the people who were told twenty-five years ago that we would one day have a pocket telephone could never think it possible. When we tell you that it won't be many years until we will have street cars without carfares, you will be surprised too.

I can't think of all I would like to say, because my education is limited, so is my vocabulary, and very much my mental capacity. Therefore if I repeat you will kindly pardon me.

In the beginning of your religion, your leader, your teacher, your Lord and Master, told you to see to it that the strong should bear the burdens of the weak, and to think not of yourselves. Just what does that mean? Some of us think it is co-operation of the people, by the people and for the people. Now, what have you done? Note I put this directly. What have you done? Simply reversed that process, and the weak are bearing the burdens of the strong.

The United States is supposed to be the least prepared for war of all nations, yet out of every $1'00 the government takes in we spend $93 for war,—correct definition, destructive purposes,—$2 for education, and $5 to run the government. Is there any reason why you cannot try to reverse that process?

Think of the many religious divisions there are in the world. Each one must have its own equipment of officials. Now think of them all as a whole, and imagine, if you can, the army of non-producers.

Then they tell us that only one person out of every five works, that is, to produce. Is there any reason why you cannot try to reverse that process?

Being a workingman, I am vitally interested in these big problems. Yes, I know the ground on which we stand is holy ground, but I cannot cast my shoes aside, because I have none other. If you teachers and preachers and leaders will do as Christ did, and as he told you to do, you will not need so much sympathy and advice in your private confessions, and your Churches will be full of people and money.

I thank you.

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO THE SOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

By William Lawrence Wood

IN Southern California it is a custom that when the nights are cold in the lemon orchards they put up what they call a smudge. The smoke covers the orchard, and the frost cannot come down and kill the trees. I had a man in my parish in San Paula who year after year refused to have anything to do with a smudge, because he said he refused to buck the Lord; that is to say, he believed that there were certain inevitable laws of God, one of them being that at certain times of the year the lemon trees froze if the Almighty wished to have them freeze, and he was not going to interfere with them. That fatalistic view towards life we had illustrated to-day in the case of the mother who refused to have her child operated on because the child was born lame. That comes into this whole economic question.

We have heard to-night from Mr. Barr of these economic laws, which he spoke of as God's laws, laws which cannot be changed, such laws as the law, I suppose, of supply and demand. Well, now, it altogether depends on what the nature of those laws is. All economic laws are laws in part between men, or between men and money. Men have control over them, and if you can change the man's attitude you can to some extent change the laws. That is to say, if the supply of working men increases you don't necessarily have to cut down their wages, and you are not breaking any

law when you refuse to do that and when you refuse to compel a man to starve and his family to starve. If we are converted and become Christians then the laws change, because they are dependent on certain psychological factors.

And we have heard other examples of that same thing to-night from Miss van Kleeck. The working man as the hours of work go down often increases his output, not only because he is less tired, but because he has more of the spirit of work in him. It is true when men are friendly, and when men give their employees the right kind of treatment, Christian treatment, that the men respond to that thing, and the whole law governing these things is completely changed. That is why we want something like industrial democracy.

I have lived in a place near an oil field, where the men lived on the oil field plant. It was a company place. There was a little place for me to go up into and preach to them once a week. I always had to go with one of the management, and he saw to it, or tried to see to it, that I did not say anything to incite them in any way. On that place if any man even spoke of the eight-hour day he was fired out. Now, that is not the kind of thing that we want to have in this country. That is not according to the ideals of our forefathers. We want to have men have some say, some control over their lives, some control over their work and the conditions of the work, some way of expressing their desires, just as we have in politics to-day. We don't want to have the old system, the kind of a thing that they had in England under the rotten boroughs in politics—we want to have freedom in industry.

And I also agree with Miss van Kleeck that the change should not come about by saying this whole present system is wrong, let us cast it aside. As Ramsay MacDonald said, the trouble with the communists in Russia to-day is that they look upon the State as a building, which must be scrapped and a new building put in its place, while in reality

it is a living organism, out of which the organization which we wish can be born. What we need is a change of spirit, and then a change of method, not to scrap the old altogether, not to have a revolution—we have been through one thing of that kind in the recent war, and those of us who were nearest to it know what a horrible thing that was and that we often lost more than we gained—but we want a gradual change, and that is why the Christian Church must make a change towards a more Christian and a more social industrial order.

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO THE SOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

By Edward W. Hughes

I HAVE enjoyed very much the papers, but to me they lack a feature that I am going to ask you to-night to consider and possibly present some little opportunity for relief. I ought to explain, because this leads to the question that I am going to put up, that in my work I cover about four thousand miles. I have a parish that is as big as the Diocese of Delaware, with about sixty places where we meet with people, and I have about sixty thousand people who are interested in mining, coal mining, belonging to about half a dozen of the biggest coal operations in America, with a large number of smaller mines. A great many lines of business are of a constructive character, and they have their psychological effect upon the characters of the people that are engaged in them. The business that the most of the people follow where I am is of a destructive character, that is, they are depleting natural resources. Not only are we miners doing this, but we have lumbermen, who are cutting down the time. They really see nothing as the result of their efforts, only just a big hole dug in the ground from which they have taken the coal, or else a devastated territory where they have cut down the timber. Everybody knows that the business that you follow has its effect upon your subconscious mind. It can't help but be so. These men are just engaged in the rudest and crudest kind of labour—of course it requires skill in a way, but it is a job that almost

anybody can learn to follow with a very few weeks of practice—and they are getting considerable pay for it. The effect upon their minds is distrust.

I had hoped that in the discussion of this subject to-night there would have been a practical solution of the difficulty that I and others are face to face with in trying to lift these people, men and women, into a bigger and a better life. I have tried to do it by means of manual training. We have three places where I am conducting a sort of a mechanics class, teaching young lads how to use the saw and plane, and so on. And I can almost smile now while I think of the effort I made to learn to crochet so as to be able to teach some young girls how they could manage to make up a little finery and improve their appearance. It was all intended as a relief to that destructive employment which they were engaged in. We wanted to give them something that was constructive.

Now my question is: What can we do to offset the destructive side of the work which so many people are engaged in? Am I following the right plan by trying to counteract it with something that will give them a better view of life? Fine pictures in the home! I would that we could have fine pictures, copies of the best masters, sold for a very few cents, and that we could put them in the different homes, because pictures are so suggestive. I do wish that we could have better music, and I do wish that we could have better movies, and a whole lot of other things that we need just to lift them out of the sordidness of just turning over dirt and getting pay for it.

I realize the necessity for mining, as we all do, and those men, if they only knew it, are doing their very best towards helping to develop our country, but, oh, friends, they don't see it, they cannot imagine it, because they have no education, and they are so extremely literal that you cannot expect them to take in anything but just the pure literalism of every-

thing that comes to them. The modern dance to them is a disagreeable thing, and disgraceful, they hate it, because they say it is no dance at all, it is something else, they are so literal. When you ask them in reciting the creed to say the Apostle's Creed they say "I cannot say that." "Why?" "Because you say that Jesus went into hell, and he did not go there." Oh, well, we explain it. We tell them that there was such a place as paradise, Abraham's bosom, and so on, and they say, "Well, why don't you say so?" That is what we are up against. We have to meet these people on their own ground, and I am hoping that, if not to-night, somebody perhaps to-morrow or some other time can give us an opportunity to know how we are going to lift these people into the joy of the bigger and the better life.

They have also a strong sense of individualism. It is a fine thing, individualism, but it lacks co-operative power. The only way that we can get a little of that is by starting them in their schools to play ball games as a team, not as individuals, and work for the benefit of the whole.

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO THE SOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

By Norman Burdett Nash

MR. BARR did one thing for which I was sorry. I hoped that we were going to get through one discussion in the field of our to-night's programme without the business man telling us please to keep our hands off of business because we were not experts. I was sorry that he said that, for I know just what the temptation is. It is my business to teach the Bible, and I know exactly how he feels. I often feel the same way myself when I hear other people talking about the Bible. It is a professional dislike for the outsider's criticism. But I don't think we are really outsiders.

Miss van Kleeck reminded us that the Church at least for some centuries had the reputation of having quite a concern for the Christian family, and what the industrial revolution did to the Christian family was a lot. It revolutionized all the conditions in which our families exist. It changed the relationships of father and often mother and children to the home life. It turned the family upside down, and it is still turning it very rapidly. We as a Church I think ought to repent in sackcloth and ashes for the way in which for a century we changed our methods not at all in the face of the disaster to the families of the working poor which was wrought both in England and in this country by the coming of the industrial revolution.

But more than that, there is one concern of everyone of us

here which was not mentioned, and that is our professional concern in industry. We all have it, for we all buy the products of industry. We are, every last one of us, consumers. It did not take the Plumb Plan to remind us that the consumer has a right and an interest in industry, but we are still singularly slow to realize that we have some responsibility other than the cash we pay for the products we buy. A friend of mine was at a conference of labour union leaders and employers and ministers in Chicago. They were discussing the injunction, and most of the ministers were expressing their great sympathy with the workers. My friend asked them, "How many of you people know whether the clothes you have on your back were made in decent conditions or not?" and not a man could raise his hand. We go where the quality that looks best can be got cheapest, and we ask no questions. That is part of our professional concern with industry. To meet our needs that industry is run. And that is a concern which the Church would do well to emphasize, the responsibility and the right of those who consume the products of industry.

I want to give Miss van Kleeck the solution of all her problems. In the last number of *The Churchman* there is an advertisement at the bottom of page 28: "Golden Rule in industry produces contented employees, obviates strikes, speeds up production"—please notice that speeds up production—"pays increased profits. Installations made in industrial plants under direction of experienced adviser. Send for folder." The woman's sphere may be in the home, but that advertisement is a woman's advertisement. The Church has been often accused of wanting to apply the Golden Rule on the spot to industry, but we have not done it, and so the job has been done for us. How, I wonder, do you install the Golden Rule in an industrial plant under the direction of experienced advisers. Perhaps Miss van Kleeck can at least investigate that for us.

PART VI

HOW SHALL THE CHURCH DEAL WITH FUNDAMENTALISM?

HOW SHALL THE CHURCH DEAL WITH FUNDAMENTALISM?

By George Ashton Oldham, D.D.

WHEN inviting me to speak on this subject the General Secretary wrote:

"In explanation of that title it should be said that when our Executive Committee selected it, the names Fundamentalist and Modernist were not being used to designate schools of thought within the Episcopal Church, but Fundamentalism was the name given to the schools in the Baptist and Presbyterian Churches, etc., who were insisting on the importance of verbal inspiration of the Scripture, the second coming of Christ, etc. It is that type of Fundamentalism which is intended to be discussed. The objection was raised that that type hardly existed within the Episcopal Church, and that the topic, therefore, was inappropriate. The answer was that this kind of Fundamentalism was being urged so strongly outside our Church, that it was worth while for our people to hear it discussed."

This, then, is the Fundamentalism that we are considering to-day—the type of thought or "movement" which among other things, stands for the literal inerrancy of Holy Scripture, a substitutionary atonement, the imminent personal second coming of Christ, and is opposed to all that goes by the name of Evolution.

How shall the Church deal with it? In answer I should

say in brief that we must first of all endeavour to understand it; and then attempt to deal with it sympathetically and constructively.

In this twentieth century and in cultured and enlightened Boston it may be hard for any of us to believe that such a programme is seriously put forth by any number of thinking people or that, if so, it can possibly be of sufficient importance to warrant very serious consideration. If such is our thought, however, I fear it must be because the "Hub of the Universe" does not happen to know what is going on in the spokes and outer rim.

Let us then first endeavour to gain a clear apprehension of the nature of Fundamentalism by viewing it through the eyes of some of its leading exponents. The author of a book called, "Evolution a Menace," begins with the following dedication:

> "To my beloved and womanly wife, on whose brow is stamped the likeness of Him, in whose image she was created, and whose pure and noble blood is untainted by that of insect, reptile, fowl, or beast."

Mr. Bryan assures us that "There is more science in the twenty-fourth verse of the first chapter of Genesis than in all that Darwin ever wrote," while Billy Sunday characteristically affirms that evolution is "bunk, junk, and poppycock." But the *Sunday School Times* would appear to cap the climax with its horrified, alliterative utterance—"In other words, without moss we could not have had Mary; without ape we could not have had Abraham; and—shocking blasphemy—without a centipede we could not have had Christ! Praise God, we can turn from this to the words of God."

With regard to the Bible, Dr. T. C. Horton, of the Los Angeles Bible Institute assures us that "Every book of the Bible is in perfect agreement with every other book, the

whole making a perfect entity." Dr. C. A. Dixon accuses the higher critics of "going to the deceitful heart of man for a Bible instead of accepting the God-breathed, infallible word of God," while another enthusiast for the cause gives vent to his feelings in the following verse:

> "Holy Bible flecked with spots,
> How I love thee, marred by blots;
> Word of God in thee I find,
> Each according to his mind."

Such statements as these are neither isolated nor peculiar but are to be found in abundance in the written and spoken utterances of the Fundamentalists.

To assume that any movement espousing such a platform is not to be taken seriously is to commit a grave error. These persons may be obsessed or may be suffering from some "complex" which the psychologist alone can explain but that does not make the movement any the less dangerous or formidable. Indeed it has already assumed large proportions in the religious life of this country. In its numerous Bible Schools in the middle and far West it numbers many thousands of earnest men and women who are taught and led by sincere and, in not a few cases, intellectually capable teachers, while behind them is a large army of simple and devoted Christian souls who are willing to stake all and everything on the so-called "Fundamentals." The movement is reported to be generously financed, one Congregational minister asserting that in China the Fundamentalists have already spent $2,500,000. They invite native preachers to Bible conferences, pay all their expenses and send them home eagerly expecting the "literal, personal, bodily, visible return of Christ to this earth as King." The movement, both in this country and abroad, displays a force and enthusiasm amounting almost to fanaticism which gives it great driving power—so much, indeed, that we cannot altogether

laugh out of court Mr. Bryan's prophecy that "the movement will sweep the country."

It has already made much headway, the steps of which are perhaps most apparent in the political field. So-called "monkey bills" or bills designed to outlaw evolution have been introduced into many legislatures. The first of these was in Kentucky and the fight raged throughout the State. Newspapers flamed, pulpits reverberated, and ere long every Kentuckian had joined the fray. The bill emerged from Committee and was discussed by the Senate. By a small majority the Senate referred it to the Rules Committee, thus ending its career in that house. But it appeared again in the form of the Ellis Bill in the House, and after a long and bitter debate the vote was about to be taken when the House was found to be divided evenly, so the evolutionists hunted up an absent member and thus defeated the bill by a single vote. Not discouraged, the Fundamentalists have since introduced bills into the Legislatures of Iowa, Minnesota, Tennessee, Florida, and Texas. In Oklahoma such a bill has been enacted.

The movement is seriously affecting many of our educational institutions, particularly in the Middle West, says Mr. Rollin Lynde Harte. "The champion college-baiter so far, is Rev. J. Frank Norris, who has transformed his Church bulletin into an ultra-Hearst newspaper, the *Searchlight*. In an upper corner of its front page, we behold Norris grasping a Bible in one hand, while the other directs the glare of a searchlight. In the corner opposite, revealed by the glare, cowers Satan. Red headlines complete the effect. Week by week Norris flays the evolutionists in this adventurous journal, and mails it far and wide.

"Of late, he has invented a new instrument of torture for colleges—the trial. At his recent 'world convention' of Fundamentalists, he turned his Church into a courtroom and tried three Methodist institutions, the accused being

Southern Methodist University at Dallas, Southwestern University at Georgetown, and the Texas Woman's College at Fort Worth. Dr. W. B. Riley, eminent Fundamentalist, presided. Armed with college notebooks, six young folks, graduates or undergraduates of the accused, appeared as witnesses. Before a vast congregation, Rev. W. E. Hawkins, Jr., as prosecuting attorney, examined the witnesses for two and a half hours. Defense there was none. All the accused were convicted."

"At its recent convention the Interdenominational Fundamentals Association (two other great bodies of Fundamentalists also flourish) launched a 'drive' for one hundred thousand new members a year. Let the colleges tremble! For that matter, they are already trembling. It is no joke, being tried. It is no joke being pursued by red-headline journalists. Still less do colleges welcome 'monkey bills.' Wherever a legislature recognizes the immense popular influence of Mr. Bryan, of Rev. W. A. Sunday, of aged clergymen, of appeals based on GOD OR GORILLA, of the *Sunday School Times,* of Bible Institutes (entrance requirement 'a common-school education or its equivalent'), and of innumerable Fundamentalists shrewdly marshalled, a 'monkey bill' may pass. In any event, the agitation, in its various forms, stirs up venerable alumni, alarms half-educated parents, discourages many a prospective giver, and here and there breeds dissension among trustees." This college baiting has already resulted in the resignation of several capable professors of high Christian character and in many other ways has injuriously affected the cause of higher learning.

Nor is the spirit in which this propaganda is carried on without significance. In the words of one writer—"The popular orator comes to the front. The irresponsible spreading of rumours concerning the other party is encouraged, until the 'campaign lie' becomes a regular feature. Clever de-

bate takes the place of reverent search for truth." He concludes, "The most painful thing about the Fundamentalists' attitude is their conspicuous lack of Christian love."

"Speaking for the Fundamentalists, a leading journalist of theirs admits the lack and glories in it, explaining, 'We do not put out a fire with rose-water.' Just so. The Fundamentalists are putting out a fire. Many of them suspect that they have arrived too late to put it out. One and all, they believe the fire to be of incendiary origin—a fire set by infidels and apostates, disguised as ministers of God, who have crept into the Church while believers slept. On this head they entertain no doubts. For, as their learned apologist and tactician, Professor J. Gresham Machen, has told them, 'Liberalism is not Christianity at all.' Not less firm than their faith in the first chapter of Genesis and in the 'literal, personal, bodily, visible, imminent return of Christ to this earth as King,' is their conviction that Fundamentalists, and Fundamentalists only, are Christians." Said a Texan to a friend of mine recently—"Evolutionists and no-hellers should be crucified head downwards." And a resident of California was heard to remark that he would thoroughly enjoy burning Roman Catholics and Episcopalians at the stake.

In view, therefore, of all this I repeat that this is a serious and important phenomenon and merits serious consideration. Mr. Bryan's prophecy that "it would sweep the country" is in a measure fulfilled and therein lies its seriousness and its danger. In so far as it stands for truth it is a splendid thing, but in so far as it ties up with its modicum of truth patent fallacies and untruth it is building its house on the sand and when the storms come great will be the fall thereof. Then why not leave it to its fate? This we cannot do simply because its fall is likely to bring down with it much that is good and true both in its own platform and religion in general. If truth and error are made so vitally interdependent that they must sink or swim, survive or

perish together, then the outlook is indeed grave, for as soon as error is discovered in any portion of this body of teaching the whole must be surrendered. If one cannot believe in God and evolution, then many—and those the most intelligent—will be forced to abandon belief in God. If faith in God is made absolutely dependent on the inerrancy of the Bible, then as soon as any tiny flaw is discovered therein all religion must go by the board. When one thinks of the many thousands of the younger generation being placed in this cruel position it is simply appalling. For the sake of these young people, for the sake of the future of this land, and for the sake of true religion, something must be done.

In fairness to the proponents of these views, it is well to remember that the blame is not all on one side. Such a formidable movement as we are considering could not have arisen without some adequate cause and if we can discover such cause we shall be in a fair way to understand and consequently deal sympathetically with the issue.

The chief blame is laid and not without some justice at the door of the godless scientists in our schools, many of whom have not hesitated or scrupled by subtle innuendo and sarcastic jibes at long-cherished beliefs to undermine the faith of the young ones committed to their care. This sort of thing is going on more widely than is realized. In conversation with a college professor not long ago he informed me that he was both surprised and distressed to discover the amount of such destructive teaching in a denominational college with which he had some contacts. The attacks on the faith are not direct but covert, insidious and constant, so that the youth in time come inevitably to a position of doubt and frequently of blank unbelief. In my innocence I said, "But would you not think that such teachers, even though themselves unbelievers, would hesitate before robbing the youth under them of their cherished beliefs and leaving nothing in their place?" To which he replied: "Oh,

not at all! On the contrary some of these teachers believe it to be their duty to do just this, one of them saying to me the other day, 'I believe it to be my mission in life to strip these souls bare of all their delusions.'" This type of teacher is more numerous than we imagine and the sum total of their influence upon the young is very great.

Hence there is more to be said for that phase of the propaganda which would prevent the teaching of evolution in the public schools than appears on the surface. According to Mr. Bryan's statement, "In schools supported by the nation we should have a real neutrality wherever neutrality in religion is desired." Hence, "if the Bible cannot be defended in these schools it should not be attacked, either directly or under the guise of philosophy or science." "The neutrality which we now have is often but a sham; it carefully excludes the Christian religion but permits the use of schoolrooms for the destruction of faith and for the teaching of materialistic doctrines."

Of course the truly great scientists know too much to adopt any such attitude and a goodly number of lesser lights find nothing inconsistent between their science and their religion and even when themselves agnostic they appreciate too well the limits of their science to presume to pass judgment in another sphere. Science, as well as theology, must "stick to its last." When science goes beyond the observance and correlation of phenomena and attempts to account for origins, it is going beyond its sphere and trenching on that of philosophy and theology and it has no more right there than has theology in the field of science nor are its dicta of more worth. Too many teachers of science have only a book knowledge of their own subject and practically no knowledge of the religion of the Bible. They accept a crude literalistic view of the Bible such as has been discarded years ago by most thoughtful persons and then having set up this straw man they train their light artillery upon it

and preen themselves on having done a service to the cause of truth.

This sort of teaching has been so widespread and has produced such disastrous results that many earnest, God-fearing people were not unnaturally alarmed. There appearing no way of controlling such teaching, they felt driven to attempt to cast it out root and branch; and in their turn they have gone to as absurd, and perhaps more absurd, extremes than the original offenders. Like these pseudo scientists, they too have gone beyond their rightful sphere and taken a position that will ultimately prove to be untenable. But the motive prompting their action was a worthy one and the extreme nature of their stand is probably an act of desperation in view of the apparent hopelessness of checking or controlling the evil.

Having all this in mind we are in a position to appreciate and sympathetically appraise Fundamentalism. It enshrines and expresses certain fine loyalties which we can ill afford to lose; it exhibits an earnestness and enthusiasm which religion to-day sorely needs. Its errors are of the head rather than of the heart and if we can allay its fears and quiet somewhat its turbulent feelings we may be able to enlighten its understanding. Many of us would agree with its basic tenet that there are certain underlying fundamentals in religion which in essence are permanent—though we might not agree as to precisely what these are. Religion, like science, possesses certain primal, basic truths whose inner content is abiding. This is the central citadel where Fundamentalists dwell. This it is which they are concerned to protect at all hazards. With this we may have little or no quarrel.

But in order to protect this central citadel the Fundamentalist has felt it necessary to throw up rather extensive outer earthworks which he has come to regard as essential as the inner citadel itself. Here it is that we feel disposed to take issue. But we must take issue wisely and kindly lest "while

ye gather up the tares ye root up the wheat also." Moreover, such an earnest, frequently fanatical, spirit will not be deterred but rather strengthened by opposition. Our method, therefore, must not be that of ruthless attack and ridicule. Rather must we endeavour to show our sympathy with what is good and point out as wisely and kindly as may be possible the errors. In brief we must not be so anxious to compass the destruction of Fundamentalism as to lead and direct it into better channels.

These men believe and believe passionately in God as they do in the divinity of our Blessed Lord. If, therefore, we can show them that multitudes of others who accept whole-heartedly the theory of evolution and admit that the spiritual treasure of the Bible was poured into earthen vessels, nevertheless believe in God and Jesus Christ as earnestly and completely as do they, we shall be in the way of establishing a point of contact, and also of showing that the one is not necessarily dependent on the other.

We may go further and show the evils history records as the result of the Church's opposition to the science of its day. In his well-known book, "The Warfare of Science and Theology," Dr. Andrew D. White says the following weighty words: "Put together all the efforts of all the atheists that ever lived, and they have not done so much harm to Christianity and the world as has been done by the narrow-minded, conscientious men who persecuted Roger Bacon, and closed the path which he gave his life to open." And in another passage he asserts that "interference with science in the supposed interest of religion, no matter how conscientious such interference may have been, has resulted in the direst evils both to religion and to science, and invariably. And, on the other hand, all untrammeled scientific investigation, no matter how dangerous to religion some of its stages may have seemed for the time to be, has invariably resulted in the highest good of religion and science." If, in

some such way, we can show that by their faulty methods for a worthy end these good people are endangering the very thing they are most concerned to protect, we may accomplish something with some of them or at least save others from falling into their present plight.

But there is need of plain speaking and teaching. A Church which is doing its duty cannot afford to leave its members muddled on vital questions. The idea of an infallible Bible is not merely a harmless idiosyncrasy but rather one of those beliefs which "a man has no right to hold and holds at his own risk." "Identify inspiration with infallibility and you make the Bible a happy hunting ground for the Robert Blatchfords who wax merry over Elisha's bears, Baalam's donkey, and of course Jonah and his annoying whale. An infallible Bible leaves us no choice between wholesale credulity and blank scepticism. It renders us powerless in the face of the argument that the Bible is an immoral book. It makes impossible the acceptance of new truth unless we have recourse to the fantastic arts of allegorical interpretation. Worst of all, it presents us a conception of God which is chaotic and therefore worthless in the face of the problems of life." But our efforts along these lines must be constructive. The need for the positive emphasis cannot be overestimated. Instead of fulminating incessantly against the follies of an infallible Bible it is of vastly more importance to build up in the popular mind a true conception of inspiration and this applies particularly to our dealing with the young. As a Church we have been over careful of the sensibilities of the older generation, too long have we delayed in speaking the truth we know for fear of disturbing the faith of some of our elders whose race is nearly run, forgetting the multitude of young persons who, in the face of such well meant but rather cowardly silence, are in danger of growing up without any faith at all. It is surely high time that the followers of Him who said, "I am

the Truth," should begin to teach "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth," even though we must of course be careful to "teach the truth in love."

No other Church in Christendom has such an opportunity as lies before this Church of ours to-day. Protestantism, having thrown over not merely an infallible Pope but with him all that vast historical tradition as enshrined in the ecumenical Councils and the Creeds, must perforce in its search for authority turn somewhere and it turns and clings in desperation to an infallible Book. It has nowhere else to go. The Roman Church, also, contrary to popular opinion, is committed to the same position. Its official teaching remains what it was in the sixteenth century. The Vatican Council has rather emphasized it when it states that the Sacred Books have God for their author (*'Spiritu sancto inspirante conscripti, Deum habent auctorem.'*) This inspiration applies to every conceivable fact mentioned in Holy Writ. Indeed, one of the questions seriously discussed by the theologians was whether it is *de fide* that Tobia's dog wagged his tail on his return home, as the Vulgate relates, but this the veriest sceptic need not doubt for dogs are accustomed to show their satisfaction in that fashion. Surprise has sometimes been expressed that a Church in whose Rule of Faith, Tradition and its own authority certainly bulk larger than Holy Scripture, should take this uncompromising attitude towards Biblical science, but the answer has been acutely put by Fr. Tyrrell when he says—"Nothing that Fathers, Councils or Tradition have said of the Church's infallibility is half so strong as what they have said of the infallibility of Scripture: and, if the latter conception has to be gravely modified, the former cannot hope to escape a corresponding modification."

From this bondage which shackles both Roman and Protestant we are happily—and as I think providentially—free and therefore in a position to set forth the truth of religion in such wise as to appeal to the modern mind. As opposed

to an infallible Bible we set forth an inspired one and we may well point out that God does not inspire things but persons; that He does not breathe His Spirit into a book but into a man: and that these ancient writers were not the pens but the penmen—or if you please the confidential secretaries of God to whom He spake certain great truths, leaving them to tell them in their own language and necessarily in the scientific terminology of the day in which they lived. We might point out further that neither God nor His servants are limited to one type of instrument and that He can use for His purpose not only history but also poetry, drama, myth and legend, story and parable. And finally we may remind them that Christianity, unlike Mohammedanism and some other religions, is not the religion of a Book but of a Person.

With regard to evolution we may point out that the Bible has nothing whatever to do with science as such. In each succeeding age it couches its message—and must do so if it is to be intelligible—in the scientific terminology of its time but that is merely its outer dress. Its essential message is about God. The writer of Genesis, e.g., is not so much concerned to show how God made the world as to assert that God made it; and no discoveries of changing methods of creation, whether evolution or something else, can alter or affect this central truth that God is the Creator. Man's guesses or discoveries of the manner in which this world and man have become what they are concern merely the method by which God works. Whether He made it in six days or a million years does not affect the fact that He made it, though the splendid sweep of evolution does give us a larger, grander, and more noble conception of Deity than any other. It serves to remind us that God is not merely creator but also the sustainer of His universe; that He was not merely at the beginning but continues all through the process so that the reverent scientist in this laboratory or

observing the processes of nature can realize that in all his investigations and discoveries he is but observing the manner in which God works, nay more, he is actually seeing God at work, energizing in and directing every process in His universe. To get some such conception as this is to bring God back into His universe whence a hard literalism and too arid theology have tended to banish Him.

In some such ways as these we can present in positive and constructive fashion the truths of our religion and thus enable men to see that religious belief is not necessarily obscurantism nor does it involve the sacrifice of the intellect but rather encourages every man to obey to the full our Lord's command to serve Him not only with all our heart and soul but also "with all our mind."

HOW SHALL THE CHURCH DEAL WITH FUNDAMENTALISM?

By Augustus Noble Hand, LL.D.

WHEN I was a Junior in Harvard College the English Department gave us the choice of various subjects for argumentative essays known as forensics. Among others was the famous passage from Lucretius which Munro rendered thus:

"When human life to view lay foully prostrate upon earth crushed down under the weight of religion who showed her head from the quarters of heaven with hideous aspect lowering upon mortals, a man of Greece ventured first to lift up his mortal eyes to her face and first to withstand her to her face. Him neither story of gods nor thunderbolts nor heaven with her threatening roar could quell; they only chafed the more the eager courage of his soul, filling him with the desire to be the first to burst the fast bars of nature's portals. Therefore the living force of his soul gained the day; on he passed far beyond the flaming walls of the world and traversed throughout in mind and spirit the immeasurable universe; whence he returns a conqueror to tell what can, what cannot come into being; in short on what principle each thing has its powers defined, its deep-set boundary mark."

These words from the old materialistic philosopher give the classical note of protest against authority, always present with the Greeks, but rarely, if ever, louder and more insistent than to-day. Again and again has the spirit of free

enquiry contended with the principle of authority for mastery. This paper is nothing more than a plea for toleration of both in the Christian Church.

Fundamentalism, of whatever variety, rests upon authority. If the term be defined as belief in the verbal inspiration and literal interpretation of the Scriptures few in this Church would adhere to it whose influence could be regarded as important. Yet not many years have passed since the controversy which we see in some of the Christian communions over the teachings of Darwin was at its height in the Church of England as well as with us, and belief in the story of creation as told in the Book of Genesis was counted a test of orthodoxy. How rapidly the transformation has come is evident when we remember that many of us here have seen it during our own lives. It came somewhat earlier and in some respects more easily in this Church than in some of the other communions where the Bible was regarded as practically the single source of authority in religion, any meddling with which was thought to entail irreparable disaster. The adoption of a modern outlook in regard to ancient religions and the teachings of Darwin which as late as the '60's almost drove Frederick Temple, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, out of the Church and caused Pusey, in 1869, to speak of his nomination by Gladstone for Bishop of Exeter as "the most frightful enormity ever perpetrated by a prime minister," brought suspension to Dr. Briggs by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church as late as 1893. The alleged heresy of this really conservative scholar was that reason and the Church are each a "fountain of divine authority which apart from Holy Scripture may and does savingly enlighten men." Certainly the willingness of this Church to ordain Dr. Briggs indicates that at that time it had progressed beyond the beliefs which were so strongly intrenched in it twenty-five years before. Indeed the idea of a Church as the witness to the unfolding truth of God

rendered a doctrine of literal acceptance of the Biblical text unnecessary and enabled the young deacon of the Anglican Church who affirmed his "unfeigned belief in all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament" to deal with the text more freely than if it had been regarded as the single source of authority.

The truth is however that Fundamentalism while a term applicable in its original sense to a somewhat limited set of ideas, such as verbal inspiration of the Scriptures and the physical and imminent second coming of Christ, essentially involved *authority* as the basis of the Christian faith and a disinclination, if not refusal, to tolerate the verification of religious beliefs by the tests which are employed in other departments of knowledge. Strangely enough the classical modernists, Tyrrell and Loisy, and the strict fundamentalists, by each invoking the principle of authority reached the same result, through different paths. These modernists as to all facts of the physical universe were radically scientific but by placing traditional dogmas established by an infallible Church in a category divorced from the world of sense and by giving these dogmas as "truths of faith" a sort of pragmatic sanction, they were able to retire within an impregnable metaphysical citadel where their faith was secure from all onslaughts whether of Catholic Churchmen or Liberal Theologians. The fundamentalist proper took the text of the Scriptures as his sure base and from that rock defied the same foes. The Catholic party in the Anglican Church takes the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as the practically unalterable test of faith. These they say were accepted by the Church Catholic before the division and must stand *in toto* until a general council of the Holy Church throughout all the world shall decree otherwise.

The classical modernists coming as they did in an age of scepticism were welcomed because they furnished a system which avoided the necessity of belief in the physically miracu-

lous. But it is not too much to say that their dual universe with the physical on one side operating according to invariable scientific laws, and the spiritual on the other, unrelated and often inconsistent with the former, will never satisfy a Church that has been affected by Protestantism. Faith and knowledge with us have to be reconciled and few of us, I think, would admit that the real truths of either can be inconsistent or that the natural and spiritual world is not one.

While the characteristic of the conservative is reliance upon authority, it is quite unfair to him to speak of him as unwilling to employ reason, or as devoid of scholarship, or disregardful of truth. This sort of talk is the curse of liberalism for it has a superciliousness and crudeness that are the worst foes of free thought. Almost every man by logical processes reaches some conclusion which to him is final. Upon that assumption only is he likely to think that discussion can profitably proceed. A greater readiness to believe in the possibility of change, a courage to face change, and I sometimes think also the possession of fewer and more simple assumptions, are the distinguishing marks of the liberal.

It is idle and rather offensive for either conservative or liberal to claim a monopoly of scholarship or honesty or zeal to discover truth. Their real difference is one of temperament and atmosphere. The liberals should sometimes learn the lesson of reverence and restraint, and the conservatives should realize that in the long run the most futile as well as disturbing thing is the repression of ideas. Since the time when Tiberius indicted Cremutius Cordus for praising Brutus and Cassius who had died more than seventy years before on the fields of Philippi, the words which Tacitus puts in the mouth of Cordus have again and again come true: "To every man posterity gives his due honour, and if a fatal sentence hangs over me, there will be those who remember me as well as Brutus and Cassius."

We have paid the penalty many times for the perhaps necessary attempt to control freedom of expression during the war. The long trials in the New York Federal Court which we conducted under the Espionage Act resulted in disagreements of the juries and showed how unworkable is the attempt to control the propagation of ideas in any place where men differ and the herd impulse does not dominate the atmosphere. It is as true of the Church as of the State and the doctrine of toleration had its early development when the two were united. Before William of Orange joined the revolt in The Netherlands, and while still supporting the Empire, once he gave this remarkable advice to Margaret of Parma:

"There is no real obstacle in tolerating a religion other than your own if we only trust error must ultimately disappear. The Arian heresy was not suppressed by bloodshed but after centuries of active life, it was ultimately overcome by diligence, learning, and devotion to duty of the Catholic teachers themselves. A very large part of our people have embraced the new views and rather than forsake them they will give up their lives and homes. To crush them into orthodoxy by force is impossible or intolerable. If their words are false, if the Catholic faith is based on eternal truth, their doctrine will melt away in good time like the snow before the sun."

These are words of high courage, particularly significant when uttered by a statesman and soldier at a time when the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas represented the prevailing idea that "It is a much heavier offence to corrupt the faith whereby the life of the soul is sustained than to tamper with the coinage, which is allied to temporal life. Hence if coiners, or other malefactors, are at once handed over to secular princes to a just death, much more may heretics, immediately they are convicted of heresy, be not only excommunicated, but also justly done to death."

Mill in his "Essay on Liberty" points out the hard struggle which truth always has in order to prevail and how often after suppression it has failed to rise again for hundreds of years. The only economy of method, either in philosophy or religion, is to allow the tares to grow with the wheat until the harvest. This was the method which Jesus recommended to His disciples when they wished to exclude one who cast out devils in His name because they followed not with Him: "Forbid him not, for he that is not against us is for us." Indeed, St. Paul recognized this when he said: "There must also be heresies among you that they which are approved may be manifest among you." So I say that tolerance is the method of Christianity as well as experience, and that even if the doctrines of Christian theology were as certain and one-sided as some people think them to be, there would still be ample ground for toleration. But how is it possible that such things as the nature of God and of the mysterious Christ can be capable of definitions which will meet the needs of all times?

How could Christianity ever have permeated the older civilizations if it had not in a measure absorbed the religions and culture which it met and suffused them with its own light? The ideas of the age have always been to a certain extent a part of its content and a vehicle of its progress. To express the essential truths of Christianity in terms of to-day is all that the liberal is attempting to do.

As old Erasmus looked on the partisan alignments of his time, a disgusted spectator, we find in one of his letters these sardonic words:

"If there be any who cannot love Erasmus because he is a feeble Christian, let him think of me as he will. I cannot be other than I am. If any man has from Christ greater gifts of the spirit and is sure of himself, let him use them for the glory of Christ. Meanwhile it is more to my mind to follow a more humble and a safer way. I cannot help

hating dissension and loving peace and harmony. I see how obscure all human affairs are. I see how much easier it is to stir up confusion than to allay it. I have learned how many are the devices of Satan. I should not dare to trust my own spirit in all things, and I am far from being able to pronounce with safety upon the spirit of another. . . . If anyone desires to throw everything into confusion, he shall not have me either for a leader or companion. These people claim for themselves the workings of the Spirit. Well, let people on whom the divine spirit has breathed jump with good hopes into the ranks of the prophets. That spirit has not yet seized upon me; when it does then perhaps I too shall be counted as Saul among the prophets."

Such was the view of the worldly scholar and liberal thinker of the Renaissance as to the error of intolerance. How impossible is the whole theory of repression, is borne in on us by these words of Socrates in his Apology:

"If you were, therefore to say to me 'Socrates . . . we will let you go; but on this condition, that you cease from carrying on this search of yours and from philosophy; if you are found following those pursuits again you shall die'; I say if you offered to let me go on these terms, I should reply: 'Athenians, I hold you in the highest regard and love; but I will obey God rather than you; and as long as I have breath and strength I will not cease from philosophy, and from exhorting you, and declaring the truth to everyone of you whom I meet, saying as I am wont, 'my excellent friend, you are a citizen of Athens, a city which is very great and very famous for wisdom and power of mind; are you not ashamed of caring so much for the making of money, and for reputation and for honour? Will you not think or care about wisdom and truth and the perfection of your soul?' And if he disputes my words and says that he does not care about these things I shall not release him and go away; and if I think that he has not virtue, though

he says that he has, I shall reproach him for setting the lower value on the most important things, and a higher value on those that are of less account. This I shall do to everyone whom I meet, young or old, citizen or stranger, . . . For know well God has commanded me to do so."

This man was accused of teaching the young men of Athens "not to believe in the Gods of the City but in other new divinities," and he stoutly replied: "If you think that a man of any worth at all ought to reckon the chances of life and death when he acts or that he ought to think of anything but whether he is acting rightly or wrongly and as a good or a bad man would act, you are grievously mistaken."

Is it conceivable that any really truth-loving man's ideas, if erroneous, can be corrected by repression?

When the high priest "asked Jesus of his disciples and of his doctrine," one of the officers which stood by, displeased at his answer, struck him "with the palm of his hand," whereat the Master uttered these fateful words, teaching conclusively that error can only be met by the demonstration of truth: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?"

But it will be said, how can a Church without dogma stand? What is the community of spirit that will make the members of a Christian Church cohere and the Church endure if its clergy become doubtful of the physically miraculous and particularly if they cease to accept in the earlier sense some of the affirmations of the Creeds? This is the question and it is a momentous one. There is no doubt that belief in the Virgin Birth and in the Resurrection and Ascension in a sense quite physical has been held by great numbers of Christians and that the least discussion of the question of the adequacy of proof of the Virgin Birth, however reverent, is distressing to many who have received this traditional dogma of the Church and find it precious and helpful. But

it is equally true that hundreds of others to whom the thought of a disturbance in the physical order of nature is repugnant and incredible believe nevertheless that Jesus Christ is the Way, the Truth and the Life, the unique interpreter and manifestation of God in human terms and the veritable Saviour of mankind. These persons are of the opinion that the Virgin Birth is no necessary proof of the Incarnation. They refer to the fact that it is not mentioned in any of the Epistles and only appears clearly in the Gospels according to St. Matthew and St. Luke. They say that if it had any such necessary relation to the Christian Faith as its advocates affirm, much more stress would have been put upon it in the New Testament, and the Church would not perhaps have been left without it during the earliest years. They also say that the various appearances of Christ after His crucifixion indicate that the resurrection was not physical but a spiritual manifestation of His Personality, and that this is fully indicated by much of the testimony of His followers set forth in the New Testament. They insist that the Creeds by the dogma of the Virgin Birth essentially teach the sinlessness of Christ though in all points tempted like men and by the Resurrection the spiritual survival of human personality after death in the same manner as that of their Divine Master. They insist that these ideas have long been familiar in the Christian Church, are permissible statements of the Faith and interpretations of the Creeds and should constitute no ground for division.

If I know anything at all, I know that large numbers of our best young men and women have not the least interest, unless it be an intellectual curiosity, in the theological controversies that have been going on. Their difficulties are far more fundamental. They want to know whether there is a God and whether He cares for mankind, and how to come into relation with Him. With no considerable dissent they recognize Christ as unique and transcendent, a wholly

unparalleled manifestation among men, the pattern in human terms of their idea of God and the only being of all history to whom they look for guidance and inspiration. Most of them do not and probably never will believe in the physically miraculous. I can find no different doctrinal test for the clergy than for the laity and I am fully persuaded that if this Church shall hold that either are not entitled to doubt the physically miraculous and remain within it, it will be seriously discredited among great numbers of good men and women from whom it would otherwise draw strength. There always have been and doubtless always will be great numbers who find no difficulty with the physically miraculous. Perhaps the logical difficulties with it are no greater than at any previous time. In fact the difficulties are not logical but are due to the experience and education of greater numbers in the uniform processes of nature. Sheer numbers with a scientific view have affected the belief in the miraculous. Yet thousands of highly educated persons do believe in it. It is idle and unfair to say that they are unintelligent or incapable of judging. But it is equally doctrinaire to say that those who with thought and care and sincerity cannot believe these things are not members of this Church and ought not to be ministered to by clergy sympathetic with their point of view. He who wishes to exclude them or their natural leaders is in danger of becoming like the fanatic pictured by Santayana who redoubles his effort while he forgets his aim. The aim of all is to bring men to God and the Church which aims to be the blessed company of *all* faithful people must not forget that "Jerusalem which is above is *free* which is the mother of us all," and that Christ enunciated no difficult system of theology but said: "If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."

Much of the real differences are those of definition. Since

the days of Socrates men who required others to define their terms have been peculiarly irritating. Many of the liberals are nothing to be proud of and many of the conservatives are temperamentally irreconcilable and at times seem to hold a very mechanical view of religion. But each camp abounds in thousands of sincere, devout souls. If they will really listen and tolerate and respect each other's motives and loyalty, and not threaten and abuse, no divisions need occur. Any other method is futile and disastrous. All can equally say with Whittier:

> "O, Lord and Master of us all
> What'er our name or sign
> We own thy sway, we hear thy call
> To test our lives by thine."

And these are the Master's words: "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice."

"And this is life eternal that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."

HOW SHALL THE CHURCH DEAL WITH FUNDAMENTALISM?

By Rosewell Page

"HOW shall the Church deal with Fundamentalism?" To answer this question, let us consider Fundamentalism. I define it as what is fundamental with an ism. How does it consider itself? As the guardian of the Ark of the Covenant; keeper of the truths of religion; protector of the foundations of the Faith; and owner of the oracles of God.

It regards those who differ as destroyers of the Temple of the Lord and enemies of the peace of Jerusalem. It holds that Modernists are deniers of the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Atonement; and are the proclaimers of a new dispensation that substitutes a certain humanitarianism for the true worship of God and the duty to one's fellowmen—that would take away the miraculous from the life of Jesus, and substitute a philosophy, of which Socrates and Buddha and Confucius and Christ are all on the same plane except in degree, and that as Socrates in his last hours ordered a cock to be sacrificed to the shades, Jesus was only more notable because he forgave his enemies.

Fundamentalism thinks that the Bible is being torn to pieces, by denial of it as the word of God; and that the most sacred things on earth are being sacrificed and surrendered by those who assume for themselves the title of Modernists. It declares that there is nothing modern in Modernism: that every position that it holds has been held through the

ages; that Montanus, Arius, Sabellius, Cerinthus, Nestorius, and the atheists of the eighteenth century have raised every issue that is now raised, and they all go back to doubts as to Jesus being the Son of God and the Holy Spirit's being equal with God. It says that Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Athanasius, Augustine, Bazil, the two Gregories, Thomas Aquinas, Wyclif, Luther, Calvin, Hooker, Wesley, and Edwards have considered every phase of doubt that human ingenuity could suggest and have triumphantly overridden them, and that the objections now raised so far from being modern are as old as the religion of Christ. That what is new is not true and what is true is not new.

The Fundamentalist says that what Darwin and Huxley and Herbert Spencer promulgated deals with the animal kingdom, and has nothing to do with the Kingdom of the Spirit, and that as one may be deaf to sound they were blind to the spiritual life. It is easier to believe in God, and that God made man, than it is to believe in the self-creation of the atom, or the protoplasm; that there has never yet been bridged the gulf between the natural man and the spiritual man except in Jesus Christ, and that without Him there is no hope of redemption.

Fundamentalism denies that the Bible was intended to teach science, but asserts that it was intended to show man's creation and God's dealing with one branch of the human family, from which was to spring by the mystery of the Incarnation in the fullness of time, Christ Jesus the Lord.

It denies that electricity, radium, the radio, or any other development or discovery or science affects the salient facts that in man are blended the animal and the spiritual natures; that the passions and lusts of man are the same now as they have been since the first syllable of recorded time. That hatred and malice and envy and evil speaking are not different now from the first accounts ever given of them. That in an age when passion was not given to every human as

recorded by the Roman Juvenal, there came into the world from the race that had held true to the idea of God as the supreme maker and preserver of the universe, about whom a few wise men endowed with the Spirit of God and called prophets had written, One who, in the form of God, thinking it not robbery to be equal with God, or as the new version has it, being in the form of God counted not the being on an equality with God a prize to be grasped at; taught and lived the life and exemplified the truth which found expression in St. Paul's statement that the "fruits of the Spirit are love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, meekness, goodness, and temperance."

Fundamentalism says that there is no conflict between the teachings of the Bible and the quest of science. That the language of the Master is not only, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free"; but when men in despair exclaimed, "What is Truth?" He answered, "I am Truth." Chemistry deals with elemental natural things. Religion deals with elemental spiritual things.

Pasteur with his microscope saved the industries of France, and established the law of which Jenner's vaccination was but an illustration, and his work has made antiseptic surgery possible and relieved man of the terror of hydrophobia. But perhaps his greatest work was that he established beyond doubt the failure of the theory then being asserted of spontaneous generation.

Fundamentalism asserts that instead of following the injunction, "Search the Scriptures" men are searching everything else; that instead of being followers of the only Guide known as to the future life, that Guide is mistrusted, His authority is questioned, and men presume to be their own guides and go out into the darkness of despair.

Fundamentalism says that the religion of Christ as it is the hardest so it is the simplest matter in the world to understand. "Come, take up the Cross and follow Me!" And

that the consummation was, "And he forsook all and followed Him." That this simple matter of conduct has become confused and converted into the complexities of psychological analysis which beclouds and obfuscates and befogs the soul of man, who fortunately through it all sees the lantern with the eye of faith which is a lamp unto his feet and a light unto his path, as he hears the voice of the Saviour saying, "It is I, be not afraid."

The Fundamentalist thinks the Modernists' notions are trivial and nebulous. They are thought to be abandoning the stronghold of religion to the enemy—the strong medicine of repentance is to be supplanted by the weak decoction of a self-satisfied smug rationalism, and by substituting for the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, homœopathic palliatives of a man-made theory of Abou Ben Adam compensation.

When the Saviour was asked the question perplexing to us as to whose wife of the number of husbands the often married woman should be in the Resurrection, he answered, "Ye do err not knowing the Scriptures." He did not say there are two accounts in Genesis, or the Scriptures are unreliable because Jonah is reported to have been swallowed by a whale; or because the number of foxes turned loose by Samson seems incredible or because of the miracle of Israel passing through the Red Sea, but he said, "Search the Scriptures!" The Fundamentalist reads the Scriptures. The Modernist reads Renan and Hegel and everything else. The old woman told Dr. Scott that she understood all of Pilgrim's Progress but the notes. He had written the notes. Investigate, try, test, measure, balance, weigh, estimate, and consider all the evidence, and getting down on your knees pray: "My Lord, and *My* God! O Saviour of the world and *My* Saviour!" and you shall know the joy and peace that no knowledge of atom, or protoplasm, or monkey ancestry can possibly bestow.

Let the Fundamentalist alone. He serves his purpose. He

may be disagreeable, he may be sensitive as to his religion, but he is a believer. It is his life. He holds to the Bible. He holds to the living Christ. He knows no philosophy nor psychology nor theology by those names, but he knows in what and in Whom he believes. Get rid of the last syllable to the name and thank God for such an element of strength and Godliness! The Church is as the loving Mother who sits at the head of the table and hears her children discussing the mysteries of life. She loves them all, she listens to them all, and acts as moderator and sometimes to keep peace she disciplines them. But there must be very bad behaviour for her to send any away from the table.

Fundamentalism and Modernism are offensive nomenclature. I deny allegiance to either. I hold to the doctrines as contained in the Scriptures and explained in the Book of Common Prayer. The Scriptures, the Sacraments, the Creeds, the Episcopate—not Fundamentalism; but what is fundamental as laid down by the Scriptures as explained by the Council of Nicæa or the General Convention.

You can add to your membership by lowering your standards. Doubts as to the teachings of the Scriptures are often the result of a desire to escape from duties imposed therein. "Go, take up the Cross!" "Come, follow Me!" "Go, give to the poor!" are often the reasons for questioning the authority of Him who makes the command. The psychology is an unwillingness to act, rather than a want of knowledge. The Motto of the Virginia Seminary is "Seek the Truth—Come whence it may, cost what it will." It was a favourite of the great Dr. Sparrow, the teacher of Phillips Brooks and Bishop Potter, of Bishop Dudley and a host of other great soldiers of the Cross.

The glory of this great meeting is the spiritual note that has characterized it. Let the Church deal tenderly with her children and loving them all help to gather them into Christ's fold!

HOW SHALL THE CHURCH DEAL WITH FUNDAMENTALISM?

By Arthur C. A. Hall, D.D., LL.D.

THERE are four or five practical things that I want to say on this question, How shall we deal with Fundamentalism,—with fundamentalism among people outside our own limits and with fundamentalism as we may find it within our own limits?

Surely, first of all, the way to deal with it is to anticipate difficulties that surely will arise in people's minds, to anticipate the difficulties and the troubles that come to young people, in college or elsewhere, by giving them beforehand a reasonable, frank, and reverent representation of the Christian religion. And that, I shall say, will resolve itself into these points, not at all exhaustive, of course: First of all, we are to teach a progressive revelation, beginning, oh, with very crude, anthropomorphic ideas of God, in taking men as they are and gradually leading them to become what they should be, in disclosing His mind and will and being as men are able to receive it,—a progressive revelation.

Then I should say, secondly, in anticipating the difficulties that are likely to arise in people's minds, teach men what Bishop Oldham said, that it is the writers of Scripture who are inspired rather than the writings, and that inspiration does not mean infallibility. Many of you have listened to an inspired preacher, but you have not taken everything that he said as being infallible. He has helped you, illuminated your minds, stirred your affections, moved your will, but you

did not consider him infallible. Inspired he was, teaching you about God and teaching you about yourselves and about your own duty and your own high standard of life. It is the writer who is inspired, rather than the writing.

And then, possibly, I shall not carry so many with me in the third point that I make. I should make—teach people to make—a pretty broad distinction between the writings of what we call the Old Testament and the New Testament, for this reason—oh, apart from the general idea of a progressive revelation—that the Old Testament books make no sort of claim to be a contemporary record of eye-witnesses. I do not suppose—well, perhaps some fundamentalists do suppose—that Moses, perhaps, witnessed the Creation; and then wrote the account of his own death, nobody knows how many years after. However, the Old Testament makes no claim to be a contemporary record by eye-witnesses, but that is precisely the claim that the New Testament writers do make,—the record on the strength of eye-witnesses, that they have seen and heard. That makes the broadest possible distinction.

Then I should say, you know, and all the discussion that we have had this afternoon has impressed upon me, the great value of the Creeds—maligned and suspected as they are—the great value of the Creeds as preserving liberty. This is what you are asked to believe, not everything that is written in the Bible, but these great truths,—belief in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and believing certain facts about the operation of the Father and the Son and Holy Ghost. The Creeds are the preservative of liberty, the shelter of freedom.

PART VII

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE CHURCH

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE CHURCH

By William Lawrence, D.D., LL.D.

OFFICERS and members of the Church Congress at this, its Jubilee meeting, I bid you welcome to Boston. This is the fourth session here, and the third which I as Bishop of Massachusetts have had the privilege of welcoming. The Congress has always found in Boston a congenial atmosphere, and Boston has profited by your presence.

As an introduction to your discussion, I am going to present a few thoughts about the present conditions of religious discussion. Within the last few months there has been a lull in the public debate. Headlines on Fundamentalism and Modernism, on the inerrancy of the Scriptures or the fact of the Virgin Birth no longer greet us at the breakfast table.

"I am thankful for that," says the layman as he runs his eye over the front page of the paper. "I hope that the clergy have had enough of this theological talk which has no interest for me. Let them settle those questions: and let me read of the scandals at Washington and live a Christian life in peace."

Now if the settlement of those questions were the real matter at issue, we might be inclined to agree. But the fact is that most of the newspapers and laymen and many of the clergy have not really reached down to the fundamental issue: and it is one which touches the laymen—I mean the rank and file of Christian men who respect the Church,

even if they are not members of it—as well as the clergy.

The real issue which lies far deeper than the immediate settlement of these doctrinal questions is whether the Christian Church is to be a Church wherein there is large liberty of thought, opinion, and interpretation; or whether the Church is to be even more than ever broken up into sects wherein each contains only those people who think and believe just alike: whether in such an historic Church as ours the layman is to have reasonable liberty of interpretation, or whether he is to be limited in his interpretation to those of his bishop, his rector, or the general sentiment about him. I have singled out the laymen, for I believe that they need to be aroused to the issue. Those men and women who say, "I know nothing about these things,—that is my rector's business; what he thinks is, I guess, good enough for me," are playing into the hands of doctrinal and spiritual servitude.

Now, no one would assume that the laity should have the same theological equipment or thoughtful grasp of the faith that the clergyman has. By his ordination vows the clergyman is bound to give thought, study, and prayer to the questions and duties of his office; and he has a greater responsibility to teach these things than the layman. But—and here is the point—the standards of the clergyman's and the layman's belief are identical; the layman has no more right to deny or evade a section of the Creed than has the clergyman. If we once grant that there may be two planes of doctrinal acceptance, one for the clergy and one for the laity, we shall have by the same token two planes of ethical standards, one for the clergy and one for the laity. The layman is no more an expert in theology than is the citizen in statesmanship, but no citizen will allow that a statesman's standards of good citizenship are different from or higher than his. Though not an expert in government, he has his convictions founded upon reasonable intelligence, common

sense, experience, and loyalty. So in spiritual and doctrinal standards both clergy and laity have the same liberty of interpretation; each will have a regard for the other's intelligence, office, and loyalty. Both will have a high regard for the traditions and interpretations of the past.

Inasmuch, however, as the intellectual, moral, and spiritual history of the world continually develops, and the application of Christian principles to thought and life creates new situations, the interpretations of the Church's standards, the Christian Creeds, by both clergy and laity, change. There is not a bishop, priest, or layman of this Church who interprets every article of the Creed as he interpreted it ten or twenty years ago. The critical question is how far can one go in his change of interpretation and remain loyal to the Faith. It is just here that the question of the method of testing arises. How are you going to decide when a man in his progress of interpretation has crossed the line of orthodoxy or loyalty, and entered the domain of heresy and disloyalty?

One of two methods is open to the Church. The first is by law, by trial under the law. That is an historic method, definite, orderly, and sure to bring a result. This Church has its constitutional order for such a trial. If anyone of us believes a clergyman to be a heretic or disloyal because of his interpretation of an article of the Creed, or of his use of some form of ritual which we believe to be contrary to the standards of the Church, we may call him disloyal, and set going the canonical processes towards a trial. We are then doing what is consistent and under law. The verdict of the Court will decide as to whether our charge is right or wrong, whether he is a heretic and disloyal or not; and also whether he should be excommunicated or remain in the Church.

But experience in the past half century has given both clergy and laity the impression that although that man's case is settled, the question of doctrine is not settled; for

thought, forms of expression, and interpretations change and develop in such a way that the same problem turns up in an awkward way in another form or personality. I remember well a remark made to me by Father Benson of the Cowley Fathers after the condemnation by an English Church Court of some phase of Catholic practice. "It does not matter much: we believe that we have a right to it: we will keep on, and in time it will be recognized." A lawless method from the ordinary citizen's point of view, but one which is being widely recognized when applied to the expression of spiritual things, whether in doctrine or ritual.

Again, everyone knows that an ecclesiastical trial gets the thought, interest, and work of the Church out of perspective and exaggerates the importance of what may be secondary or even trivial. Hence there has arisen a general sentiment that ecclesiastical trials in matters of doctrine and ritual are not advisable. Take any group of Churchmen today, be they bishops, priests, or laymen, and if the question arises, the almost unanimous answer is, "Avoid a trial by all means unless conditions become intolerable."

"What, then, are we to do?" says the law-abiding Churchman. "Is everybody to think and do what is wise in his own eyes? If so, we are on the way to confusion worse confounded. The fact is, and for one I believe it is a fact for which we may be very grateful, the Church has resolved itself into a spiritual, not just a legal body; wherein we are in general bound together not by decisions of courts or identical interpretations, but by bonds of a common faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and a common spirit of brotherhood; and he who is not in sympathy with the spirit, finds himself spiritually outside though he be formally within. We know men here and there who might have been tried and deposed with the eyes of the whole Church upon them who have quietly subsided or renounced the ministry because they were not at home in it.

Taking the situation by and large, public opinion and the sanctified common sense of the Church put men in their proper place, whether they are reasonably sound in the faith or heterodox or dishonest. And while there are souls who are always afraid that the altar of the Lord is toppling over, the spiritual common sense of the community does not seriously worry over a few sporadic cases, or as horticulturists call them, a few sports, scattered here and there about the garden.

Good people may cry out that there are awful risks in this. So there are awful risks in ecclesiastical trials. When we think the situation through, we discover that you must have one or the other. If we believe in the trial method, let us stand to it. But if we do not, then let us stand to that, to the principle that we of the Church are bound to each other by spiritual bonds, by a loyalty as each of us understands it to Christ and His Church. We are a family. If, then, this is understood, I want to suggest in as brief a form as I can four elements which are essential to the unity, peace, and life of the Church.

I. We must have mutual confidence, confidence in each other's soundness of faith as each interprets it, in his integrity and loyalty. A family wherein the brothers and sisters call each other liars and hypocrites is no longer a family, though they live in the same house.

Soon after I was consecrated bishop, a committee of clergy called upon me and asked me to protest against the teaching and practice of another clergyman of the diocese; and if he should be recalcitrant, to bring him to trial. I told them that I regretted the teaching and practices as much as they did: that I myself could not feel myself loyal and speak and practice what he did: but I added, "He claims that he is loyal." I then went on to say, "There are those in this diocese who do not believe that certain of your teachings and practices are in conformity with the standards of the

Church: and they have protested to me. Now if I undertake to take notice or discipline one, I must undertake to notice or discipline all. If you want the doctrine and use of this diocese to be no bigger or broader than the doctrine and use of the bishop and his interpetation of them, then I will undertake the task of trying to limit the liberties of all to my standards." I then added, "These men are known by us all to be honourable and high-minded in all other respects than in their teaching and ecclesiastical use. Why not assume that they are honourable and high-minded in these respects? Let us have confidence in each other and in all." Granted all the risks, I believe that by that path come peace, unity, and service.

II. We must cultivate a broad sympathy, the habit of trying to appreciate the other man's point of view. Religious convictions reach into the very depth of men's lives and emotions: upon their faith rest their hopes in this life and that to come. Hence when their religious convictions are disputed, they are touched to the quick, and the reaction is often painful and violent. They leap to the defence of their faith, not only by standing for their position, but by knocking down the other. And a man's loyalty to his creed is often measured by the violence of his defence. Whereas he who has full confidence in his faith can afford to go slow and try to understand the other man's point of view. Perhaps the opposing disputants have essentially the same beliefs, but, as is often the case, do not understand each other's language: by tradition or local habit, they are using the same words, but with different meanings. Then again, no one of us is free from inherited or acquired prejudices, and we may overcome them by trying to understand the best of those against whose habits we are prejudiced.

Am I too bold in saying that some of us who are perhaps too little weighted with the respect for tradition, and overbalanced in our anxiety to keep the Church alert to the

thought of the day, may press interpretations of certain articles of the Creed with too little regard of the feelings of those who are more conservative. Herein, I believe, lies much of the hostility against those who are standing for new interpretations—for instance, belief in the historic fact of the Virgin Birth has been held by practically the whole Church since Apostolic days, and by the large part of the Church as of the very warp and woof of the Truth of the Incarnation, upon which the faith of Christians rests. To disturb this interlaced doctrine of faith is as if the surgeon should draw out from the centre of a man's body nerves which have been a vital part of his life. Delicacy and sympathy are essential. No one who is not driven by the conviction of loyalty to truth would think of undertaking such a duty; but if the conviction of truth as revealed in modern thought and Biblical criticism compels, then the Christian, like the surgeon, must act in order to save what he believes is the life of the Christian faith. But woe be to the man or woman who handles these things, so bound up with the truth of the Incarnation, the sacredness of virginity, the glory of motherhood, and the ages of chivalry, other than with the utmost reverence and sympathy. Every Christian, not to say every gentleman and gentlewoman will, however strong his or her convictions, be very considerate of the convictions of others.

The Church is larger than the point of view of any group, party, or age. Our historic Church is not a sect. All Churchmen may learn much from this Congress, and those of us who happen to be here may well heed the discussions and services of the Priests' Congress in Philadelphia. The Church is not and cannot be complete without the inclusion of many phases of thought and spiritual life. Her dominant note is not exclusion but inclusion.

III. Patience. It is a good rule for every clergyman or layman interested in religious subjects to read once in a while the life of a scientist or the story of one bit of scientific work.

Contrast the patience of a Pasteur or of any student of science in the laboratory of to-day, and realise how patiently and persistently he follows up his line of thought and experimentation, unwilling to come to a definite conclusion or conviction until all signs and acts bring him to that point, with one of us who may read two or three articles or a volume or two of theological literature, which is in harmony with our preconceived ideas, and then go forth and not only proclaim the thoughts that we have gained as truth, but question the honesty or the loyalty of those who may not agree with us.

No Christian can afford to be tentative in his deeper convictions. No one was more convicted of His faith than our Lord. On the other hand, no one of us can afford to shut his eyes intellectually or spiritually against any new ray of truth that comes to illumine our convictions.

IV. And finally, the touchstone of all sincere belief is a love of the truth, and a determination to reach it. Our Lord when accused of being false to the traditions of His elders, turned upon His accusers with the charge, "Ye seek to kill me, a man who hath told you the truth." He said, "I am the Truth." We must not allow any one phase of thought, be it science or philosophy, to monopolize that great title. We must believe, and we do believe, that the Holy Spirit that leads the Church into the fuller truth of Christ is the same that leads us into the fuller truth of nature and the interpretations of the Christian Creed. We cannot afford to be in a hurry to settle questions which are now under discussion. They run very deep and demand study and the most thoughtful consideration, but for the present the matter of chief importance is that we have an atmosphere so full of mutual confidence, sympathy, patience and love of truth that we may all be led into a common spirit, and through that into a fuller knowledge of the Truth as it is in Christ Jesus.

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